

POL

27 - 9

BIAFRA - NIGERIA

12/1/69

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

☐ Retain classification ☐ Change classification to _____
☒ Declassify with concurrence of _____
EO 12958, 25X
FPC/HDR by J Date 3/26/96
Withdrawal No. _____

0614

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 818

PAGE 01 LAGOS 11037 311726Z

45
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
AID-28 UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01
/160 W

121773

R 311522Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 594
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

UNCLAS LAGOS 11037

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP, DECEMBER 31

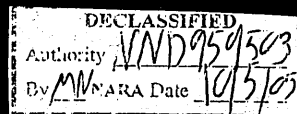
1. POST SIGNED ARTICLE STATES THAT RECENT BROADCAST ON BIAFRAN RADIO CALLED ON USA TO REGARD RELIEF ISSUE AS SECONDARY TO POLITICAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN NIGERIAN CRISIS, ADDING THAT TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO RELIEF ONLY BECLOUDS POLITICAL ISSUES. STATES THAT THIS OPEN ADMINSION OF LACK INTEREST IN FATE OF HIS OWN PEOPLE CHARACTERIZES ALL OJUKWU'S ACTIONS SINCE BEGINNING OF CRISIS, CATALOGUING LONG LIST OF ACCRDS AND AGREEMENTS BROKEN BY OJUKWU IN WHAT IT CALLS HIS ATTEMPT TO "CARVE OUT EMPIRE FOR HIMSELF".

2. POST CARRIES SIGNED ARTICLE ON DAHOMEAN PROBLEMS, CALLING FOR SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING OF REST OF WORLD FOR PROBLEMS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 11037 311726Z

OF THAT COUNTRY AND EFFORTS BY DAHOMEY'S NEIGHBORS TO AID DAHOMEY IN ACHIEVING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STABILITY.

3. SKETCH IN PARTICULAR AND TRIBUNE CONTINUE REPORTING ON GHANA'S EXCLUSION ALIENS. EXPRESS SIGNED ARTICLE AIMS ITS GUNS IN PARTICULAR AT GHANAIAN DECISION TO ALLOW IBOS WHAT IT CALLS "POLITICAL ASYLUM" WHEN, IT SAYS, GOG SHOULD BE WELL AWARE OF FMG'S GUARANTEES AND POLICY OF REINTEGRATING IBOS INTO NATIONAL LIFE. ALSO POINTS OUT THAT SOME OF PEOPLE EXPELLED WERE BRON AND BROUGHT IN GHANA AND HAD NEVER EVEN BEEN IN NIGERIA BEFORE. SKETCH CARRIES THREE DIFFERENT ARTICLES ON GHANA. FRONT-PAGE HEADLINE REPORTING INTERVIEW WITH RETURNING NIGERIAN CHARGES THAT 200,000 NIGERIAN STILL "LANGUISHING IN DEPORTEE CAMPS" IN GHAN WITHOUT MONEY OR FOOD. STATES THAT "MANY HAVE DIED AS RESULT OF HUNGER AND LACK OF ADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE". ALSO REPORTS THAT GHANAIS HAVE BEEN TAKING OVER PROPERTIES OF NIGERIANS WHO HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM GHANA. CREDITS GOVERNMENTS OF DAHOMEY AND TOGO WITH GIVING NIGERIANS ENROUTE BACK TO NIGERIA, "AS MUCH ASSISTANCE AS POSSIBLE".
TRUEHEART

UNCLASSIFIED
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| By | MM NARA Date 10/3/05 |

DEPT. DISTRIBUTION
ORIGIN/ACTION

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Action Taken:

Date:

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.

FILE DESIGNATION

CONFIDENTIAL

A-960

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

NO.

FROM : Amembassy OTTAWA

DATE: DECEMBER 31, 1969

SUBJECT :

REF : Ottawa's A-951 of December 23, 1969

Evk action chg to AF

Enclosed is a copy of the September 1968 letter to the Governments represented on the Nigeria Observation Team referred to in para 2 of RefAir.

GOC requests that the contents of the letter and the fact that it has been provided to the USG by GOC be held confidential since the GOC did not request permission of the Nigerian Government to pass to us an official communication from them.

SCHMIDT

ENCLOSURE:

Nigerian Ministry of External Affairs letter of September 6, 1968 (copy)

att 6/11/73

PUBLISHING & REPRO. SERVICES DIVISION

1970 JAN 4 PM 1 14

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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For Department Use Only

☒ In ☐ Out

Drafted by:

POL:VIToumanoff:mco

Drafting Date:

12/24/69

Phone No.:

Contents and Classification Approved by:

DCM:RZSmith

Clearances:

0617

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VIND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Telephone : 26451

Telegram : External Lagos.

Encl.
A- 960 from Ottawa
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
P.M.S. No. 12600,
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Ref. No. AS.605/43/Sec.

6th September, 1968.

Excellency,

The Federal Military Government of Nigeria has decided, as I intimated to Your Excellency on the 28th of August, 1968, to invite an Observer Team which will inspect Federal military operations in the war affected areas of the country. The Federal Government's reason for establishing this Observer Team is in pursuance of its desire to satisfy the world opinion, contrary to the malicious propaganda of the rebels, that there is no intentional or planned systematic and wanton destruction of civilian lives or their property in the war zone.

The Observer Team will be made up of one distinguished representative from each of the following countries or organisations :-

- (i) Canada.
- (ii) Poland.
- (iii) Sweden.
- (iv) United Kingdom.
- (v) Organisation of African Unity, and
- (vi) U.N. Secretary-General:
Informal - Not a U.N. observer as such, but a person whom U Thant can personally trust to report to him on his findings, and who therefore can, on that basis, work with others as a team.

Terms of Reference.

- (i) Visits: To visit all war affected areas and newly liberated areas, on the Federal-controlled side, to witness the conduct of Federal troops - re charges of genocide, etc. Such visits may be undertaken at their own instance or at the instance of the Federal Military Government on receipt of any international allegations about the conduct of Federal troops in any particular area.

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

Ottawa
A 260

- (ii) Reports: These will be made to individual countries or organisations; but the team will make their visits together and sign their reports collectively. Members are also free to publish such reports in Lagos or elsewhere, but copies of all reports issued should be deposited with the Federal Military Government.
- (iii) Duration: Two months in the first instance - from the time all the members assemble. It is hoped that all will arrive in Lagos within the week ending September 14.

Facilities to be provided for the team.

- (i) Headquarters: The Team will be based in Lagos or anywhere else they prefer, and is logistically possible. The Federal Military Government will take all necessary precautions to guarantee their personal safety.
- (ii) Transport: The Federal Military Government will provide air, land, and water transport, etc.
- (iii) Board and Accommodation: These will be the responsibility of the Federal Military Government.

It would be appreciated if you could be kind enough to bring this formally to the notice of your Government and let me know the name of the person selected to serve on this Team at your earliest convenience.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A.A. Baba-Gana
(A.A. Baba-Gana)
Permanent Secretary.

H.E. Mr. T. J. Malone,
Canadian High Commissioner,
Tinubu Street,
LAGOS.

0619

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Authority VMD 954503
By M/NARA Date 10/5/95

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Classification

Department of State
TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

213714

38 B

31 DEC 69 00 09Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: GENEVA

STATE _____

SUBJECT: U/CF Visit

to
Hoping/commence U/CF relief survey on FMG side ~~MEM~~
week
~~work~~ of January 12. Planning on itinerary similar to
that proposed for October visit. Will furnish details ~~shortly~~
shortly.

END.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF:AE Dewey

DRAFTING DATE
12/30/69

TEL. EXT.
29476

APPROVED BY:
U/CF:Amb. Ferguson

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck
AFR/CWA - Mr. North

DOD - Col. Hamilton (info)
PRR/VAD - Mr. Tripp (info)

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0620

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Authority VMD 9504503
By MWA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
DEF 12-5 NIGERIA
Department of State
TR POL NIGERIA-US
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 445

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UCF-05
NIC-01 ACDA-18 IO-13 AID-28 (RSR-01) /169 W
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P R 311455Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1919
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5617

SUBJECT: NIGERIA - TANZANIAN INTEREST IN US ACTION HALT ARMS
SUPPLY

1. TANZANIAN AMB RUTAKYAMIRWA YESTERDAY CALLED CHARGE AND ASKED FOR APPOINTMENT. AFTER DESULTORY DISCUSSION GENERAL TOPICS INCLUDING LOCAL STUDENT DIFFICULTIES, AMB ASKED WHETHER WE HAD ANY RECENT WORD ON U.S. ATTITUDES TOWARD POSSIBLE US ROLE IN SEEKING SOLUTIONS NIGERIAN CONFLICT. NOTED HE HAD RAISED PREVIOUSLY (PRESUMABLY BRUBECK CONVERSATION REPORTED ADDIS ABABA 4328) POSSIBILITY US PRESSURE ON ARMS SUPPLIERS TO TERMINATE ARMS SHIPMENTS TO COMBATANTS. UNDER QUESTIONING BECAME APPARENT AMB REFERRING ESSENTIALLY TO POSSIBILITY US TWISTING UK ARM TO END SUPPLY BRITISH ARMS NIGERIA. CHARGE TOLD AMB HE UNWARE ANY CHANGE US POSITION OF LEAVING EFFORTS TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN HANDS OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES. AMB SAID HE THOUGHT ENDING UK ARMS SUPPLY WOULD PUT WORLD MORAL PRESSURE ON USSR TO TERMINATE ITS OWN SUPPLY EFFORTS TO NIGERIA. ON ARMS FOR BIAFRA, AMB STROVE TO GIVE IMPRESSION MEANS WOULD BE FOUND TO CONVINCE BIAFRANS (NOT RPT NOT THE SUPPLIERS TO BIAFRA) PLAY BALL IN BRINGING ABOUT MUTUAL TERMINATION ARMS SUPPLY, INVOLVING ALSO CEASEFIRE AT POINT TO BE DETERMINED.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05617 010544Z

2. RUTAKYAMIRWA ALSO PRESENTED ARGUMENT THAT US HAS INTEREST IN MINIMIZING GROWING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN NIGERIA STEMMING MAINLY FROM SOVIET POSTURE AS ARMS SUPPLIER. CHARGE SUGGESTED PROBLEM MIGHT BE IN MOTIVATING USSR TO TERMINATE ARMS DELIVERIES IF PRESENT SOVIET POLICY IN FACT PRODUCING SUCCESSES ALONG LINE HE ADDUCED. RUTAKYAMIRWA REPEATED TANZANIAN ASSESSMENT WAS THAT ISOLATION OF SOVIETS AS SUPPLIER WOULD LEAD TO SUFFICIENT MORAL PRESSURE TO FORCE SOVIETS ALSO TO ABSTAIN FROM DELIVERIES.

3. RUTAKYAMIRWA REQUESTED THAT CHARGE TRANSMIT HIS INQUIRY TO WASHINGTON AND THAT HE BE ADVISED OF ANY RESPONSE FROM DEPT. WILL APPRECIATE ANY COMMENT THAT MAY BE PASSED TO HIM.

4. COMMENT: NOT CLEAR WHY THIS APPROACH (WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN MADE WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS) WAS MADE IN ADDIS UNLESS CONVENIENCE OF FOLLOWING UP BRUBECK CONVERSATION WAS DECIDING FACTOR. DESIRE KEEP IN LOW KEY, STEMMING FROM TENTATIVE NATURE OF TANZANIAN INITIATIVE, PERHAPS ALSO PRESENT. APPARENT FROM RUTAKYAMIRWA REMARKS THAT TANZANIANS CASTING ABOUT FOR NEW APPROACHES FOLLOWING ABORTIVE ADDIS PEACE TALKS.

5. ALSO WISH TO NOTE AS OF POSSIBLE SIGNIFICANCE KENYAN FIRST SECRETARY ADALLA DEC 25 ECHOED SOMEWHAT SAME LINE IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFS. URGED US SHOULD PRESS UK HALT ARMS SUPPLY, BUT SAID SOVIETS WOULD NOT RPT NOT SEE ADVANTAGE IN EXPLOITING SUCH OPPORTUNITY TO ENHANCE POSITION NIGERIA. UK DECISION STOP ARMS SUPPLY WOULD AFFECT FRENCH, OTHERS SUPPLYING BIAFRA AND ULTIMATELY BRING ABOUT CEASEFIRE. ADALLA'S COMMENTS NOTABLE BECAUSE FIRST TIME HE HAS BEEN WILLING COMMENT IN DETAIL ON NIGERIA. EMPHASIZED REMARKS PERSONAL.

YOST

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0622

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| Authority | VND959503 |
| By | MV NARA Date 10/3/05 |



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13
UPW-01 UCF-05 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01
/160 W

R 311438Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4988
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

CONFIDENTIAL LONDON 10408

REF: STATE 213378 *Pol 27-9 B-7*

FCO (TEBBIT AND BARDER) MOST APPRECIATIVE DEPARTMENT'S PROMPT
RESPONSE TO REQUEST FOR COMMENTS. REACTION TO SUGGESTIONS
WAS HIGHLY FAVORABLE AND EMBASSY BELIEVES MOST (IF NOT ALL)
WILL BE INCORPORATED IN SOME FASHION. TEBBIT SAYS LETTER IS
TO BE SIGNED THIS AFTERNOON AND PROBABLY WILL BE RELEASED
TO PRESS SHORTLY THEREAFTER.
HUGHES

①

*London - 10408
12-31-69*

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0623

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Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

POL 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
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Department of State

TELEGRAM

213668

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30 DEC 69 23 50Z

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ACTION: Amembassy COPENHAGEN

>Info: Amembassy ROME
Bangkok
Saigon

STATE

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: Ross Perot

REF: Bangkok 17350

Please keep Dept apprised of any plans Perot may have re transfer his relief supplies to West Africa for Biafran as reported several days ago. ~~XXXX~~ refugees. U/CF will want to lay groundwork for their ultimate distribution if Biafrans are to become recipients of Perot's relief goods.

END

[ROGERS]

DRAFTED BY:

U/CF:JWFoley, Jr.

DRAFTING DATE

12/29/69

TEL. EXT.

23256

APPROVED BY:

U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr.

CLEARANCES:

U/PW - Mr. Sieverts

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0624

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

17-30-69
11013

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 398

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 SS-20 NSC-10 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04

SCA-01 RSR-01 RSC-01 INR-07 /079 W
..... 115208

P R 301705Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 580
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 11013

REF STATE 212781¹⁰

FOR FERGUSON U/CF

PRELIMINARY REPLY PARAGRAPH 4 REFTEL CONTAINED LAGOS 11012.
TRUEHEART

①

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Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCIT-01 EUR-20 UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 CCO-00 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03

AID-28 PM-05 IH-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 IO-13 UPW-01 RSR-01 /148 W

113307

0301054Z DEC 69

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4972

CONFIDENTIAL LONDON 10376

DELIVER ACTION OFFICE OPENING OF BUSINESS DEC 30.

SUBJ: HMG STATEMENT ON BIAFRAN RELIEF

REF: SECSTATE 213122

1. FCO REQUESTS THAT DEPT CONSULT CONGRESSMAN LOWENSTEIN AS SUGGESTED PARA 2 REFTEL. AT SAME TIME, FCO ASKS THAT CONGRESSMAN BE ADVISED LETTER AND ANNEX ARE TO BE RELEASED TO PRESS LATER THIS WEEK AND HMG HOPES NO PUBLIC MENTION OF EITHER LETTER OR ANNEX WILL BE MADE UNTIL AFTER SUCH RELEASE.

2. FCO CONFIRMS THAT THEY NOT ASKING FOR US "CLEARANCE" AS SUCH, BUT WOULD APPRECIATE OUR COMMENTS ON THOSE PORTIONS WHICH RELATE TO US ACTIVITIES.

MUGHES

*London - 10376
12-30-69*

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0626

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |



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TELEGRAM

Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
213378

INDICATE:
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☐ CHARGE TO

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30 Dec 69 19 48z

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ACTION: Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE

INFO : Amembassy LAGOS

STATE _____

SUBJECT: HMG Statement on Biafran Relief

REF: London 10372 *re*

1. Re para 3 reftel. Congressman Lowenstein out of country.

In his absence, his staff informs us he would probably prefer not be mentioned.

2. Re para 4 reftel. In order not prejudice Ambassador Ferguson continuing discussions Cross River, would prefer that characterizations of attitudes of two sides be even-handed; i. e., either characterize both sides as raising technical questions or enumerate FMG objections as well as Biafran. FMG insisted on need for independent inspection inside Nigerian territorial waters; and added ~~proviso~~ ^{proviso} that entire route subject to problems of military security on River.

3. Re para 5 reftel. While we have no problems with paragraph, HMG may wish recall previous USG March 1969 proposal for daylight Obilago flights to Uli and ~~XXXXXX~~ for emergency period pending opening

DRAFTED BY: Amb GCFerguson/11
AF/SN: WHBrubeck/11
DRAFTING DATE: 12/30/69
TEL. EXT. 28885
APPROVED BY: *MS*
AF/SN: WHBrubeck

CLEARANCES:

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FORM FS-413
4-68

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE

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Classification

of River route. Biafrans objected on grounds of military security,
FMG accepted in principal.

4. Re para 6 reftel. We have no comments, however, HMG may wish consider
with Canadians ^{mention of} ~~in the~~ Canadian offer of ^{observers} ~~observations~~ and assurances
~~for~~ which Biafrans rejected.

5. Re para 7 reftel. While we unclear on basis HMG estimate of one million
pounds weekly for helicopter scheme, assume it can in fact be reconciled
with US figures as constituting QTE similar conclusions UNQTE.

6. We wish reiterate that except for ~~the~~ transmitting views of Lowenstein's
staff and comment on Cross River, observations this tel are simply suggestions.

END

ROGERS

FORM DS-322A
9-63
CONTINUATION SHEET

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0628

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Authority VMD 950503
By MVA Date 10/5/03



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POL 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

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Department of State
TELEGRAM

~~213123~~
213122

B. J. H.

~~29 Dec 69 23 49Z~~
29 Dec 69 23 49Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY

INFO: AmEmbassy LAGOS

SUBJECT: HMG Statement on Biafran Relief

REF: London 10372

1. While it not RPT not appropriate for Dept to clear HMG statement, we do have comments on portions making specific reference to US which being sent septel.

2. However, we cannot comment on activities Congressman Lowenstein (para 3 reftel) without consulting him. Emb should therefore determine whether FCO would like us to do this. If we are to meet requested deadline, we will have to have FCO response by opening of business Dec 30.

End.

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN - GBSherry:ac
DRAFTING DATE: 12/29/69
TEL. EXT.: 29311
APPROVED BY: AF/SN - WHBrubeck

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Foley (info)

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0629

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VMD 954503
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra Nigeria
Department of State
TELEGRAM

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ACTION AF-18

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 GIAE-00
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RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 IO-13 UPW-01 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03
UCF-05 SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01 /148 W
----- 109689

OIR 291749Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4969
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

CONFIDENTIAL LONDON 10372

SUBJECT: HMG STATEMENT ON BIAFRAN RELIEF

1. PM HAROLD WILSON PLANS SEND LETTER TO SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME ON JAN. 2 CONCERNING RELIEF EFFORTS IN NIGERIA/BIAFRA AREA. LETTER WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY ANNEX LISTING VARIOUS EFFORTS AND, ALTHOUGH ANNEX WILL BE REASONABLY COMPLETE, IT WILL NOT BE REFERRED TO AS "WHITE PAPER" TO AVOID ANY FMG SENSIBILITIES TO FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

2. FCO (BARDER) ASKS US CLEARANCE ON THREE SECTIONS OF NINE POINT PAPER. BARDER SAYS THEY NEED CLEARANCE BY COB DEC. 30 AND REQUESTS DEPT'S ASSISTANCE IN MEETING THAT DEADLINE. FOLLOWING ARE SECTIONS TO BE CLEARED:

3. QUOTE THE OBILAGO PLAN.

FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS WITH BOTH SIDES BY AN AMERICAN CONGRESSMAN, MR. ALLARD LOWENSTEIN, LATE IN 1968 AND EARLY IN 1969, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN FEB., 1969 PUT FORWARD A PLAN BY WHICH RELIEF SUPPLIES WOULD BE SENT FROM OUTSIDE NIGERIA IN DAYLIGHT TO THE OBILAGO AIRSTRIP. (BY THEN IN THE HANDS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT) AND TAKEN FROM OBILAGO BY WADI INTO THE REBEL-HELD AREAS. THE AIRSTRIP AND SUPPLIES WERE TO BE SUPER-

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 954503
By MVA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 10372 291840Z

WISHED BY INTERNATIONAL INSPECTORS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ALSO OFFERED TO ALLOW THE ROUTE TO BE POLICED BY OOU CIVILIAN OBSERVERS. THE BIAFRANS REJECTED THE PLAN ON THE GROUNDS OF MILITARY SECURITY.

4. THE CROSS RIVER ROUTE

THIS SUGGESTION WAS PUT FORWARD EARLY IN 1969 BY THE USG WHICH FACILITATED CHARTER BY THE ICRC OF TWO LANDING SHIPS (LSMS), THE DONA MERCEDES AND DONA MARIA. THESE SHIPS (SUBJECT TO THE RIVER WATER LEVEL) COULD NAVIGATE THE CROSS RIVER TO BIAFRAN TERRITORY. ALTHOUGH BOTH SIDES AT ONE STAGE AGREED PUBLICLY IN PRINCIPLE TO THE PLAN, THE BIAFRANS SUBSEQUENTLY DECLARED IT UNACCEPTABLE IN THE ABSENCE OF A THIRD PARTY GOVERNMENTAL GUARANTEE AND OBJECTED TO THE PLAN'S PROVISIONS FOR FEDERAL INSPECTION OF RELIEF VESSELS ENTERING NIGERIAN WATERS. THE FEDERAL GOV'T ALSO STATED THAT NUMBER OF TECHNICAL QUESTIONS HAD NOT BEEN SETTLED.

5. DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ICRC, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE BIAFRANS FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS HAVE BEEN GOING ON SINCE JUNE WHEN THE ICRC NIGHT FLIGHTS WERE SUSPENDED, FOLLOWING THE SHOOTING DOWN ON 5 JUNE OF ICRC RELIEF AIRCRAFT BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. (THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN A STATEMENT ON THIS INCIDENT DESCRIBED IT AS A DISASTER AND AS A CASE OF "MISTAKEN IDENTITY".) ON 30 JUNE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PRESENTED TO A CONFERENCE OF RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS IN LAGOS DETAILED PROPOSALS FOR DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT INTO THE BIAFRAN ENCLAVE, INCLUDING PROVISIONS FOR INSPECTION AND OTHER SAFEGUARDS. IN JULY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ICRC VISITED LAGOS FOR TALKS FOLLOWING PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS IN LONDON ARRANGED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, WHICH WAS THROUGHOUT IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH BOTH THE ICRC AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN AN EFFORT TO PROMOTE AGREEMENT. BIAFRA AGREED TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS IN EARLY AUGUST SUBJECT TO THESE BEING WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE USE OF ULI AIRPORT FOR THEIR OWN OPERATIONS. THE ICRC AND THE F.M.G. SIGNED AN AGREEMENT ON 13 SEPTEMBER 1969 UNDER WHICH SUPPLIES COULD BE FLOWN TO ULI BETWEEN 9 A.M. AND 5 P.M. LIMITED ONLY BY THE CAPACITY OF THE AIRCRAFT AND AIRSTRIPS INVOLVED AND SUBJECT TO INSPECTION AT THE POINT OF TAKEOFF FROM COTONOU, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S RIGHT TO CALL DOWN SELECTED AIRCRAFT FOR SUPPLEMENTARY INSPECTION IN LAGOS AND THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE

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| Authority | VND959503 |
| By | MMNARA Date 10/5/05 |



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LONDON 10372 291840Z

FLIGHTS WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO FEDERAL MILITARY OPERATIONS. THIS LAST STIPULATION (WHICH CORRESPONDED TO THE EARLIER STIPULATION BY THE BIAFRANS IN AUGUST THAT FLIGHTS SHOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR OWN CONTINUED USE OF ULI) WAS CLARIFIED ON 9 DECEMBER, DURING THE COURSE OF A VISIT TO LAGOS BY MR. MAURICE FOLEY, M.P., PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE AT THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, IN AN ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT THE FEDERAL AIR FORCE WOULD NOT ATTACK ULI AIRPORT WHILE ICRC AIRCRAFT WERE THERE DURING DAYLIGHT HOURS AND THAT FEDERAL AIRCRAFT WOULD NOT ESCORT OR FOLLOW ICRC FLIGHTS ENGAGED IN THE RELIEF OPERATIONS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ALSO UNDERTOOK NOT TO TAKE MILITARY ADVANTAGE OF THE ICRC DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT.

5. ON 14 SEPTEMBER THE BIAFRANS HAD REJECTED THE ICRC'S AGREEMENT WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF 13 SEPTEMBER ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE CLAUSE STATING THAT THE FLIGHTS SHOULD NOT PREJUDICE FEDERAL MILITARY ACTIVITY ENDANGERED THEIR OWN SECURITY. THE BIAFRANS CALLED FOR INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENTAL GUARANTEES AGAINST FEDERAL MILITARY EXPLOITATION OF THE FLIGHTS. A HIGH LEVEL ICRC MISSION IN MID OCTOBER FAILED TO SECURE BIAFRAN AGREEMENT. THE BIAFRANS ALSO REJECTED ASSURANCES BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TRANSMITTED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND HAVE SO FAR REJECTED THE FURTHER UNDERTAKINGS BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EMBODIED IN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT OF 9 DECEMBER. END QUOTE

7. BARDER SAYS LETTER WILL ALSO REFER TO BRITISH HELICOPTER CAPABILITY AS TOO LIMITED TO BE OF VALUE AND CONCLUDE THAT A MULTINATIONAL FORCE IS THE ONLY TECHNICALLY FEASIBLE ANSWER. LETTER WILL STATE HMG ESTIMATE OF ONE MILLION POUNDS COST PER WEEK OF SUCH FORCE AND STATE THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS HAVE REACHED SIMILAR CONCLUSIONS.

8. OTHER TOPICS NOT FOR U.S. CLEARANCE WILL INCLUDE 1968 NIAMEY PEACE TALKS, AUGUST 1968 ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE, RAF AIRLIFT POSSIBILITY, AIR DROP POSSIBILITY, HELICOPTER/CARRIER AIRLIFT (COMMITTEE OF CONSCIENCE SUGGESTION) AND NIGHT FLIGHTS. BARDER STRESSES ABOVE LANGUAGE IS STILL IN DRAFT FORM AND IS SUBJECT TO CHANGES DURING HMG CLEARANCE PROCESS.
HUGHES

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |



Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 561

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01302 271337Z

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 EUR-20 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01
ORM-03 UPW-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01
PRS-01 SS-20 RSR-01 CCO-00 /142 W

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O R 271045Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3012
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 1302

CORRECTED COPY (MRN 1302 VICE 271)

FOR U/CF - DELIVER OPENING BUSINESS 29 DECEMBER

SUBJECT: ORDER OF MALTA/ICELANDIC AIRLIFT TO BIAFRA

REF: LIBREVILLE 1299 - *Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria*

1. AS INDICATED REFTEL, I BELIEVE LIBREVILLE PORT FACILITIES CAN HANDLE RELIEF PROGRAM INCREMENT OF UP TO 1500 TONS PER MONTH ASSUMING CARGOES DO NOT PEAK BEFORE 1 FEBRUARY. UNQUESTIONABLY, LIBREVILLE BETTER EQUIPPED TO HANDLE THIS THAN PORT GENTIL.

2. IF PSP AUGMENTATION PARKING SPACE ASSURED AT AIRPORT, CHIEF BING REMAINING IS THAT OF STORAGE. PROBING THIS POINT IS PARTICULARLY TOUCHY BECAUSE SURVEY OF PRESENT FACILITIES INVOLVES DEALING EITHER WITH FRENCH IMPORT/EXPORT "MAFIA" OR WITH INDIVIDUAL OWNERS OF LARGE STORAGE HANGARS, EITHER OF WHOM CAN BE EXPECTED SET TOWN A-BUZZING WITH CURIOSITY (HINT WE PLANNING BIG AID PROGRAM FOR GABON IS ONLY ONE DANGEH).

3. OBVIOUS ALTERNATIVE IS DEAL DIRECTLY WITH GABONESE GOVERNMENT ON THIS PROBLEM. LATTER MIGHT NOT ONLY INFLUENCE PRIVATE SECTOR TO COME UP WITH NEEDED SPACE, UNDERSTAND MINISTRY OF NATIONAL

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*Libreville 1302
12-27-69*

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Authority *VND950503*
By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/00*



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01302 271337Z

ECONOMY ALSO CONTROLS LARGE WAREHOUSE OF ITS OWN USED SEASONALLY TO STORE COCOA CROP BUT PRATICALLY EMPTY MOST OF YEAR. BUT EXPLORING SUCH POSSIBILITIES WITH OFFICIALS WOULD OBVIOUSLY REQUIRE WE PUT OUR CARDS ON TABLE, AND I DO NOT FEEL I CAN MAKE MUCH PROGRESS ALONG THIS AVENUE WITHOUT FURTHER AUTHORIZATION FROM DEPT.

4. TO MY MIND, BEST ALTERNATIVE IS PLAN CONSTRUCT PRE-FAB HANGAR SPECIALLY FOR THIS PURPOSE. PORT DIRECTOR ASSURED ME SPACE AVAILABLE FOR SUCH HANGAR AT PORT ITSELF, AND LOCATION SEEMED GOOD TO ME. ADVANTAGES WOULD BE: A) CHEAPER IN LONG RUN CONSIDERING HIGH COST LOCAL WAREHOUSING; B) CONVENIENT LOCATION AFFORDING ACCESS DOCK ON ONE SIDE AND BEACH ON OTHER; AND C) POSSIBILITY HANGAR MIGHT BE LEFT IN PLACE UPON PROJECT'S COMPLETION TO AUGMENT PORT STORAGE FACILITIES.

5. ON OTHER HAND, THAER PLENTY OF VACANT LAND AT NORTH-EAST END AIRPORT APRON (WHERE PSP WOULD PRESUMABLY BE LAID) AND GOVERNMENT COULD PROBABLY BE PREVAILED UPON GRANT PORTION FOR CONSTRUCTION SIMILAR HANGAR. HITCH AGAIN IN PURSUING THIS ANGLE IS "EXPOSURE."

6. CONCERNING GOVERNMENT'S REPORTED AGREEMENT TO ORDER OF MALTA REQUEST, ON WHICH WE STILL HAVE NO OTHER CONFIRMATION, MAY BE WORTH NOTING THAT WE WERE DENIED AUTHORIZATION THIS WEEK FOR DATT DC-3 FROM FT. LAMY TO PARK OVERNIGHT IN CIVILIAN AREA DURING JANUARY, DUE ALLEGED CROWDED SITUATION ANTICIPATED THERE. THIS DESPITE FACT RELIEF PLANES CURRENTLY FEWER IN NUMBER THAN AVERAGE OF RECENT WEEKS.

7. AWAITING FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. GP-4.
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| Authority | VND 959503 |
| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State TELEGRAM

NR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
NR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 099

PAGE 01 THE HA 04846 241024Z

17
ACTION: EUR-25

INFO: OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 INSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
AID-28 UCF-05 MC-02 ACDA-18 SR-01 ORM-03 NIC-01 RSR-01
/174 W

R 240825Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0000
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY
USUN NEW YORK 330
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN UNN
AMEMBASSY BERN UNN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN UNN
ZEN/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN UNN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE UNN
AMEMBASSY OSLO UNN
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA UNN
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM UNN
AMEMBASSY VIENNA UNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE THE HAGUE 4846

SUBJ: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. SUMMARY. DURING SECOND CHAMBER DEBATE ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA
DEC 22-23, OPPOSITION AND COALITION PARTIES ALIKE DELUGED FORNIN

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THE HAGUE 4846
12-24-69

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Authority VMD 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 202

PAGE 01 LONDON 10317 241140Z

19
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28

IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01

/160 W

092635

R 241115Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4932

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 10317

REF. STATE 211505

1. LORD CHARRINGTON'S SCHEDULE HAS BEEN JAMMED SINCE HIS RETURN. WE HOPE BE ABLE TO SEE HIM WHEN HE RETURNS TO LONDON AFTER HOLIDAY PERIOD.

2. SPECIAL ARTICLE ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA VISIT BY LORD CARRINGTON IN SUNDAY TIMES DECEMBER 20 SENT DEPARTMENT (LONDON A-2181).

3. MAIN CONCLUSION OF CARRINGTON'S REPORT TO SHADOW CABINET, ACCORDING TO OTHERS WHO WERE PRESENT, WAS THAT HE SAW LITTLE HOPE AT THIS JUNCTURE FOR PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL SOLUTION.

4. FCO (TEBBIT) SAID CARRINGTON'S BRIEFING AT FCO CONTAINED LITTLE DIFFERENT FROM ARTICLE IN TIMES. TEBBIT SAID TIMES ARTICLE WAS "SLIGHTLY MORE OPTIMISTIC" ON POSSIBILITY OF AIR DROPS AND HELICOPTER AIRLIFTS THAN CARRINGTON HAD BEEN IN FCO TALK.

WUGHES

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Authority *VND 954503*
By *MV* NARA Date *10/3/05*

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
Info: INFO: Amconsul IBADAN
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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24 DEC 69 00 04Z
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SUBJ: Nigeria

Following is partial unofficial transcript of SecState press conference
December 23:

QTE: Q. Mr. Secretary, as you approach the end of first year of your
administration, I wonder if you could give us benefit of your overview --
what you think were main accomplishments and main disappointments?

A. ...As you know, I plan to go to Africa in February and visit
several countries. I have not decided on itinerary for sure yet. I will
announce that later.

We are, of course, disappointed in some things. We are disappointed
in continuation of tragic war in Nigeria. We think that the policy of
United States is sound. We have contributed \$70 million in food and
medicine to that part of world -- more than any other nation. We have
not taken part in any of the political activities, but I think our efforts
are well received in all of Africa.

Drafted by:
AF/P:JHH:CS:mb

Tel. Ext.
22044

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

AF/P:WCPowell

Clearances:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck (Info)

S/PRS - Mr. McCloskey (Substance)

AF - Mr. Carter

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Classification

FORM
8-65 DS-322

0637

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Authority VMD 9509503
By MWA Date 10/5/03

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin

ACTION: Page 2 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

So, on whole, I think the President can be proud of his leadership
in foreign affairs field during his first eleven months... UNQUOTE

END

[ROGERS]

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

Clearances:

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8-65 DS-322

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Authority VMD 9501503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-7 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 692

PAGE 01 OTTAWA 01944 241959Z

45
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01
UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01
/160 W

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P R 241930Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5619
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L OTTAWA 1944

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA - ITALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL

REF: STATE 212042, OTTAWA 1937 NOTAL

1. GOC IS INCLINED AGAINST ITALIAN INITIATIVE, WILL NOT
RPT NOT INSTRUCT ITS AMBASSADOR IN ADDIS TO SUPPORT IT
AT PRESENT, CONSIDERS GOC SUPPORT IN FUTURE UNLIKELY
BUT CANNOT EXCLUDE SUCH A CHANGE OF POSITION DEPENDING
ON DEVELOPMENTS.

2. GOC HEARD DEC. 23 THAT GOI WAS MAKING UNILATERAL
APPROACH, AND GOC ASSUMES HAGUE GROUP ASPECT THEREFORE
ABANDONED.

3. COMMENT: GOC EVIDENTLY REMAINS LOATH TO ASSOCIATE
ITSELF WITH AS YET UNKNOWN OTHER GOVERNMENTS, ON VENTURE
WHICH WILL INEVITABLY BE VIEWED AS POLITICAL BY FEDERAL
GOVT AND BIAFRA, WHICH SEEMS LIKELY TO PROVOKE RESENTMENT
BY ONE OR THE OTHER, AND WHICH HAS SO LITTLE CHANCE OF
SUCCESS. GP-3.

SCHMIDT S.

CONFIDENTIAL
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*12/29/69
Ottawa 1944*

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| By | MW NARA Date 10/5/05 |

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

*Intelligence
Note* -877

December 24, 1969

To : The Secretary
Through: S/S
From : INR - George C. Denney, Jr. *h.c.d.*
Subject: NIGERIA-BIAFRA: Little Prospect for Negotiations

Nigeria's failure to send a delegation to the peace negotiations at Addis Ababa on December 15 may indicate a hardening Nigerian preference for a military "solution" to the problem of Biafran secession. Federal military activity is increasing, and Federal forces are advancing. If Biafra collapses, immediate, effective relief will be necessary.

The Failure of the Addis Talks (or The Emperor Has No Clothes). The Biafrans have adamantly refused to negotiate under the OAU's "one Nigeria" resolution; nevertheless, they responded to French pressure and sent a delegation to Addis Ababa for the talks proposed by the Emperor. They apparently believed that the talks would be sponsored by Haile Selassie acting in his personal capacity and not as Chairman of the OAU Consultative Committee. The Nigerians, perhaps encouraged by military gains, showed no real interest in the talks. They delayed sending a delegation, and their hand was strengthened by the Biafran leader, Colonel C. Odumegwu Ojukwu, who expressed over the radio on December 15 his understanding that the talks were outside the OAU. The FMG, which has insisted it would negotiate only under the OAU resolution, delayed further while it called for clarification from Addis. The Emperor was cornered on the issue, which had to be fuzzed if his efforts were to succeed. He had no choice but to authorize a statement that the talks had in fact been intended to come under the OAU, thus killing any chance of Biafran participation.

(3)
This report was prepared by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

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*Oct 27-14 Biafran Nigeria
XR Oct 27-9 Biafran Nigeria
XR Oct 3 0Hc*

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Authority *VND 959503*
By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/05*

ORIGIN/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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| 34 | 10 | 3 |
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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : US Mission GENEVA

FROM : Amembassy LIBREVILLE

DATE: December 23, 1969

SUBJECT : Biafran Airlift - Week of December 15 through 21

REF : SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

The following presumed arms flights occurred during the period
December 15 - 21:

- A. DC-7 TR-LOK nightly December 15 through 21 (7 flights)
- B. DC-6 TR-LOX nights of December 18, 19, 20, 21 (4 flights)

The following presumed relief flights occurred during the period
December 15 - 21:

- A. DC-4 F-BRHE nightly December 15 through 21 (7 flights)
- B. DC-4 F-BRAP nightly December 15 through 21 (7 flights)
- C. DC-6 OO-GER night of December 15 (1 flight)
- D. DC-6 OO-HEX nightly December 15 through 21 (7 flights)

Remarks

A. Embassy informed that Operation Africa Concern aircraft OO-GER has been removed from airlift due to lack of supplies in the pipe line. It departed Libreville December 19 and has not been observed since.

B. FRC aircraft (DC-4's F-BRHE and F-BRAP) both received coats of dull gray paint on upper sides their previously white fuselages during past week.

C. Suspected sometime arms carrier Super -G Constellation Reg. No. 5N86H, not observed here since December 5, arrived during afternoon of December 20 and parked in the civilian area of the airport. It had departed by the morning of the following day.

FORM 4-62 DS-323

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Drafted by:

CONS:DC/Elas/kaa

Contents and Classification Approved by:

TFCrigler, Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

Clearances:

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 Authority VMD954503
 By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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2.

During its absence from Libreville, the upper half of the fuselage had been painted dull gray (USDAO Abidjan).

D. Unidentified DC-7 with markings similar to TR-LOX and TR-LOK was seen parked in the military side of the airport on the evening of December 19 and had departed by the morning of December 20.

E. ICRC executive aircraft HB-GBK arrived evening of December 18 and had departed by morning of December 19.

F. No MFI-9B "minicons" were observed on the airstrip during the reporting period.

G. DC-7, "oblit" mentioned in paragraph B of remarks section of last week's airlift report (A-131) now believed to have been TR-LNZ

Resume:

- A. Week of December 1: 0 arms flights, 20 relief flights
- B. Week of December 8: 2 arms flights, 25 relief flights
- C. Week of December 15: 11 arms flights, 22 relief flights

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INDICATE:
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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON

STATE: _____

Unless you perceive objections, request you
debrief Lord Carrington on his recent trip to
Nigeria-Biafra and report findings to department.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:HKWalker:bjr

DRAFTING DATE

12/23/69

TEL. EXT.

29311

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

CLEARANCES:

EUR/BMI - Mr. Cheslaw

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FORM 4-68 DS-322

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By MWA Date 10/5/05



Pac 27-9 Benfra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 786

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01299 231148Z

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO: OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 SS-20 SR-01 PM-05 INR-07 NSC-10
L-03 DODE-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 SSO-00 RSR-01 RSC-01
EUR-20 /099 W

O R 231040Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3010
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 1299

SUBJECT: ORDER OF MALTA/ICELANDIC AIRLIFT

REF: A. STATE 208606
B. STATE 210901

1. LIBREVILLE PORT DIRECTOR GRAILLOT GAVE ME TOUR OF PORT
FACILITIES THIS MORNING AND PROVIDED FOLLOWING DATA ON TRAFFIC:

A. PRESENT INCOMING HARD CARGOES (I.E. EXCLUSIVE PETROLEUM
WHICH BY-PASSES DOCK VIA PIPELINE) ABOUT 150 THOUSAND TONS PER
ANNUM. OF THIS, CEMENT ACCOUNTS FOR MORE THAN 20 THOUSAND TONS.
WITH COMPLETION OWENDO CEMENT FACTORY NEXT MONTH (FACTORY NOW
MAKING TRIAL RUNS), THESE IMPORTS WILL BE ELIMINATED AND PORT
TRAFFIC EXPECTED DROP ACCORDINGLY.

B. MONTHLY TONNAGE HIGHLY VARIABLE JUST NOW, DUE REPERCUSSIONS
FRENCH DOCK STRIKE AND BUILDUP OF LIBREVILLE CARGOES THERE. THIS
SITUATION EXPECTED STRAIGHTEN ITSELF OUT IN COMING MONTH.

C. DESPITE ICRC CLAIMS, DISCHARGING OF SHIPS ONTO LIGHTERS
IS RAPID. PORT NOW HAS THREE RECONDITIONED 250 TON LIGHTERS
AND A FOURTH EXPECTED SOON, IN ADDITION TO APPROX. FIFTY
125-150 TON BARGES, DEPENDING OF COURSE ON CARGOES,
SHIPS RARELY HELD IN PORT MORE THAN 48 HOURS.

D. BOTTLENECK LIES IN UNLOADING OF LIGHTER ONTO

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*Libreville 1299
12-23-69*

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By MVA Date 10/3/05



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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01299 231148Z

DOCK DUE TO CRAMPED DOCKING SPACE. BARGES CONTAINING CASES MAY LANGUISH IN WATER THREE WEEKS OR MORE BEFORE HAVING TURN AT DOCK. PERISHABLES, HOWEVER, ACCORDED PREFERENCE AND USUALLY WAIT NO LONGER THAN A WEEK. I OBSERVED PL-480 RICE AND CORNMEAL ON DOCK (FOR FRC) WHICH I WAS TOLD SPENT LESS THAN ONE WEEK ON LIGHTERS AND APPEARED IN EXCELLENT CONDITION.

E. STORAGE AFTER UNLOADING IN PRIMARY PROBLEM IN CONTEXT SUBJECT PROGRAMS. VIRTUALLY NO STORAGE AVAILABLE AT DOCK. PRESENTLY, THOUGH THIS SITUATION WILL EASE AS CEMENT IMPORTS HALT. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE RUNS SEPARATE HANGARS (COST: 2500 CFA PER ANNUM PER SQUARE METER VS. 1500 CFA AT PORT) BUT THEY ALSO CROWDED. MUCH CARGO NOW SITTING IN OPEN ON DOCK FOR LACK STORAGE.

F. LOCAL HAULING FACILITIES MORE THAN ADEQUATE TO MEET PRESENT NEEDS. WE COULD EXPECT PUT OUT TENDERS FOR BIDS FROM LOCAL COMPANIES AND OBTAIN COMPETITIVE RATE FOR TRANSPORT CONTRACT.

G. LABOR PROBLEMS AT PORT SOLVED BY FIRM GOVERNMENT ACTION -- AT LEAST FOR PRESENT.

2. ASKED GRAILLOT ABOUT PORT GENTIL ALTERNATIVE (REFTEL B). SAID HE DEFINITELY BELIEVED PROBLEMS WOULD BE EVEN GREATER THERE. PORT TRAFFIC ONLY 50 THOUSAND TONS PER ANNUM, AND ITS FACILITIES STRAINED TO MEET EVEN THESE DEMANDS. WAREHOUSING EVEN TIGHTER THERE AND TRANSPORT FACILITIES MORE SCARCE. INCREASED TRAFFIC OF LEVEL ENVISAGED UNDER SUBJECT PROGRAM (PRESUMABLY 1500 TONS PER MONTH OR MORE) COULD NOT REALISTICALLY BE HANDLED, HE SAID.

3. RE AVAILABILITY LANDING CRAFT TO SPEED UNLOADING OPERATION, GRAILLOT SAID THAT SEVERAL EXIST HERE, USED MAINLY FOR LUMBER OPERATIONS UP ESTOLRY, AND IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE LEASE THESE FROM PRIVATE OWNERS ON SHORT TERM. NOR DID HE SEE ANY PROBLEM IN BY-PASSING DOCK AND UNLOADING ON BEACH, AS HE SAID PORT AUTHORITIES OCCASIONALLY DO WITH OWN CARGOES. HOWEVER, HE POINTED OUT THAT LOCAL LANDING CRAFT OF NO GREATER TONNAGE CAPACITY THAN LARGE LIGHTERS (ABOUT 250), AND SEVERAL WOULD BE NEEDED TO UNLOAD LARGE SHIPMENT IF SHIP NOT RPT NOT TO BE DELAYED IN HARBOR WHILE CRAFT MAKE ROUND TRIPS TO BEACH.

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4. HAD NO SOLUTION FOR STORAGE PROBLEM EXCEPT DO AS FRC AND OPERATION AFRICA CONCERN DO: MEET BARGES WITH TRUCKS AS THEY ARRIVE AT DOCK AND TRANSPORT CARGO TO PRIVATELY LEASED WAREHOUSE IN TOWN (CUTTING TIME ON DOCK TO MATTER OF HOURS). HOWEVER, GIVEN SCARCITY WAREHOUSE SPACE, GRAILLOT SAID SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OUGHT BE GIVEN TO CONSTRUCTING NEW WANGAR OF PRE-FAB SORT, AND NOTED THERE LAND ADJACENT TO DOCK WHICH COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE BY PORT AUTHORITY.

5. COMMENT: IN MY JUDGMENT, FACILITIES EXIST HERE FOR ALL BUT STORAGE OF MAXIMUM 1200 TONS CARGO PER THREE-WEEK PERIOD, ASSUMING NO ARRIVALS BEFORE END OF JANUARY. TIME IN PORT COULD BE ELIMINATED BY USE LANDING CRAFT, BUT FEWER THAN THREE WOULD DELAY SHIP IN PORT. ON BALANCE, PORT'S HEAVY BARGES SEEM MORE SENSIBLE. UNDERSTAND DELTA LINE SHIPS FROM GULF PORTS PASS NEAR HERE APPROX. EVERY THREE WEEKS AND MIGHT BE PERSUADED CALL IF CARGO WORTHWHILE.

6. SEPTTEL WILL DEAL WITH STORAGE PROBLEM. GP-4
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Pac 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01
ORM-03 IO-13 SCS-04 SCA-01 E-15 DOT-12 UCF-05 UPW-01
AID-28 RSR-01 /187 W

R 230730Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3008
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LISBON

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1297

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

REF: STATE 202845#
LIBREVILLE 1273- *Pac 27-9*

1. CONSTELLATION 5N86H RPT 5N86H SHOWED UP HERE AGAIN AFTERNOON SATURDAY DECEMBER 20 AND PARKED IN CIVILIAN AREA OF RAMP. HAD DEPARTED BY FOLLOWING MORNING AND HAS NOT RPT NOT RETURNED.

2. AS REPORTED USDAO ABIDJAN, AIRPLANE NOW REPAINTED DULL GREY UPPER HALF OF FUSELAGE, OBLITERATING RED LENGTH WISE STRIPES ON FUSELAGE AND PARTLY COVERING REGISTRATION NUMBER. GP-4 CRIGLER

① NOTE: # REPTEL AS RECEIVED.

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By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/05*

*Libreville 1297
12-23-69*

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*Pol 229 Biafra
Nigeria*

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L FBO AID

TO : Department of State

PM 45 12 4

SJR 6RM 6/6 F

FROM : Amembassy OTTAWA

DATE: DECEMBER 23 1968 *RW*

AGR CDM FRB INT

SUBJECT : Nigeria-Biafra: Terms of Reference and Operating Procedures of Observer Team

LAB TAR TR XMB

REF : Ottawa 1925

AIR ARMY NAVY DSD

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PS Summary

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Due to the press of other business, Mr. Harman, Head of the Africa Section of External Affairs, has been unable to prepare a special report on the operating procedures of the Nigeria Observer Team. He has, however, found the enclosed copy of a report on the activities of the Team during the period 24 September - 23 November 1968. He believes this report will provide the Department with most of the information it seeks because it is not only the most complete report ever filed by the Observer Team, but also represents an effort by the Team to define its interpretation and clarification of the terms of reference as they bear upon operating procedures.

The terms of reference are contained in the September 1968 letter to the Governments represented on the Observer Team. In case the Department does not have a copy of that letter, Mr. Harman expects to be able to give the Embassy a copy within the next day or so and it will be pouched separately.

SCHMIDT

DELIVERY OF 2141E
Enclosure: 2141E
Observer Team to Nigeria
Report on Activities During
the Period 24 Sept-23 Nov
1968.

SECRET

For Department Use Only

Date:

Initials:

FORM 10-64 DS-323

Drafted by:

Drafting Date:

Phone No.:

Contents and Classification Approved by:

Clearances:

POL:VIToumanoff:bjt *UT*

12/23/69

DCM:RZSmith

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Encl.
Ottawa A-951

LAGÔS, NIGERIA

25th November, 1968

To: The Federal Government of Nigeria
The Government of Canada
The Government of Poland
The Government of Sweden
The Government of the United Kingdom

Copies to: The Organisation of African Unity
The Representative of the Secretary-General of
the United Nations

OBSERVER TEAM TO NIGERIA

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES DURING THE PERIOD 24 SEP - 23 NOV 1968

NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PUBLIC UNTIL NOTIFICATION IS RECEIVED
FROM THE OBSERVER TEAM TO NIGERIA

INTRODUCTION

1. On 6th September, 1968, the Federal Military Government of Nigeria (FMG) invited a group of Observers to visit Nigeria for a period of two months in the first instance to inspect Federal Military operations in the war affected areas of the country.
2. The invitation was issued because of allegations that the Government was conducting a planned programme of systematic and wanton destruction of the Ibo people and their property.

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Canada, Poland, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Secretary-General of the United Nations were each invited to nominate an Observer. By 19th September, 1968 the representative of the Secretary-General of the U.N., Mr. N-G Gussing, Major-General Arthur Raab of Sweden, Major-General Henry Alexander of the United Kingdom and Major-General William A. Milroy of Canada were in Lagos. On 23rd September, 1968 they met with the Head of State and on 24th September they started their first visit. Colonel Alfons Olkiewicz of Poland joined the group on 1st October, 1968. The OAU representatives, Major-General Sliman Hoffman of Algeria and Brigadier-General Negga Teghegn of Ethiopia, joined on the 3rd and 5th of October, 1968 respectively. Major-General Alexander was replaced on 30th October, 1968 by Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson. Each Observer was accompanied by a Deputy or Assistant. (See list at Annex 'A')

3. Because the representative of the Secretary-General of the U.N. and the representatives of the OAU report separately, the term "Observer Team" has been applied in practice only to the representatives of the four countries involved.

4. During the period 24th September, 1968 to 6th November, 1968 the Team issued three interim and three special reports. Each of these covered a specific visit. As the Observers' stay in Nigeria has been extended by the FMG until 14th December, 1968 and may be extended further, it is considered appropriate to summarise all the team's activities for the past two months.

Aim

5. The aim of this report is to describe the activities and findings of the Observer Team to Nigeria consisting of the
/representatives

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representatives of Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, for the period 24th September-23rd November, 1968.

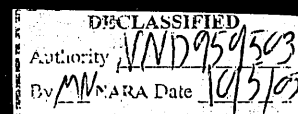
METHOD OF OPERATING

6. The procedures under which the team has been operating are a combination of the terms of reference given in the FMG letter of invitation and agreements made at the conference with the Head of State and his advisers. These procedures are as follows:-

- (a) The Observers will visit all war affected areas and newly liberated areas on the Federal controlled side to witness the conduct of Federal troops - re charges of genocide, etc.
- (b) Such visits may be undertaken at their own instance or at the instance of the FMG.
- (c) The FMG will take all necessary precautions to guarantee the personal safety of the Observers.
- (d) The team will be based in Lagos. The FMG will provide transport, board and accommodation.
- (e) The Observers representing the four countries will address their reports to the FMG and the Governments of the countries concerned. The representative of the Secretary General of the U.N., on the other hand will address his to the Secretary General, who will in turn release it to the FMG and the public. The representatives of the OAU will report in a like manner.

(The result of this decision was that the Observers became three separate groups in so far as reports and, to some degree, operations were concerned. For this reason the terms "Observers and Observer /Team"

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Team" have been used hereafter to include only the Observers representing Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom)

(f) In so far as the "Team" is concerned:

- (1) An inspection will not normally be carried out by fewer than two Observers representing different countries though one may be an Assistant Observer.
- (2) Each report will normally be signed by the four Observers. An Observer can, if he so desires, append a minority report, or in special cases, he may submit a separate report.
- (3) Reports will normally be made available to the press and public by the team 24 hours after they have been handed to the FMG and to representatives in Lagos of the countries concerned.
- (4) Representatives of the press may accompany the Observers on their visits.

The members of the team agreed that each Observer would act as Chairman of the team for a week in turn.

7. In deciding on a method of operation the team made use of statements made by the FMG concerning its policies towards the treatment of the Ibos and their property; specifically the FMG claimed that:

- (a) The treatment of secessionist troops and civilians by Federal troops was in accord with the instructions contained in the directive "Operational Code of Conduct for Nigerian Armed Forces", the contents of which were to be read and explained to every member of the Armed Forces.

/(b) The

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- (b) The Army provides food and medical care for displaced persons until the civilian administration and the volunteer agencies can take over the responsibility.
- (c) Abandoned Ibo property in non-Ibo parts of the country is being maintained awaiting their return.
- (d) Ibos are returning to the Northern part of the country.
- (e) Ibos are serving in the Federal Government and Forces.
- (f) The war is being waged in a manner to cause a minimum of loss of life and damage in so far as is possible.

8. For its definition of genocide the team used the one given in the United Nations pamphlet "The Crime of Genocide" (sixth revised edition, dated October 1965) which states "genocide is the committing of certain acts with intent to destroy - wholly or in part - a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such".

AREA INVOLVED

9. The term "war affected areas" was taken by the team to mean the area of the former "Eastern Region" and any other areas inhabited largely by Ibos, including the Eastern half of the Mid-Western State. This area involves about one tenth of Nigeria. The area actually held by the secessionists in September 1968 when the team started its work measured approximately 70 miles across by 50 miles deep.

10. Notwithstanding the above definition, the team considered itself entitled to visit any other part of Nigeria to check on Prisoners of War or on statements involving the treatment of Ibos and their property made by the FMG.

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11. For the purpose of arranging visits the area was broken down into nine sectors as follows:-

- (a) In the area of the First Division:
 - (1) ENUGU - AWKA - OKIGWI Sector
 - (2) NSUKKA Sector
 - (3) ABAKALIKI - AFIKPO Sector
 - (4) AGOJA - IKOM Sector
- (b) In the area of the Second Division:
 - (1) ASABA - ONITSHA Sector
 - (2) BENIN CITY - KWALE - WARRI Sector
- (c) In the area of the Third Marine Commando Division:
 - (1) PORT HARCOURT - ABA - OWERRI Sector
 - (2) CALABAR - UYO - ITU - IKOT EKPENE Sector
- (d) That part of Nigeria outside of the Divisional Areas.

VISITS

12. The Observers first visited each of the three Divisional Areas in turn as a group. In each Divisional Area the Observers split into two groups, each visiting a different sector of the area. An investigation of the incident at Okigwi also took place during this phase.

13. When this phase had been completed, the Observers split into small groups, visiting sectors in all Divisional areas and made two visits outside the operational zone. A list of all visits, giving dates and locations visited, is at Annex B.

14. During the tours of Divisional Areas the team visited Divisional, Brigade and Battalion Headquarters and Company positions, POWs, displaced persons camps, Red Cross medical and food distribution centres, food stores, villages, and markets which had been re-established as inhabitants emerged from the bush.

/15. The

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15. The Observers spoke to officers, NCOs and men of the Federal Forces, to Military Governors and civil administrators, to teachers, priests and missionaries, to Red Cross personnel and to the indigenous inhabitants of all walks of life.
16. During all investigations and visits the team had unrestricted freedom of movement, made up its own programmes and could and did make last minute changes to these plans.
17. On all of its visits the team was accompanied by members of the press, Nigerian and foreign.

REPORTS

18. To date the team has issued three interim reports, one on each Divisional Area, two reports on special incidents and one report on a visit to Prisoners of War in the Lagos Area. The representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations issued four reports during the period. The representatives of the OAU issued three reports during the period. A list of all these reports is given in Annex C.

SITUATION IN RESPECT OF CIVILIANS

19. The Observers found that the "war affected areas" as defined contained several peoples. The Ibos inhabited the area within the rough circle of NSUKKA, ABAKALIKI, AFIKPO, ABA, OGUTA, KWALE and AGBOR. Most of the people in the Rivers State are Ijaws while those in the South-Eastern State are Efiks, Ibibios, Ekois and minority tribes.
20. The pattern appears to be that as the fighting approached an area the inhabitants either retreated with the dissidents, voluntarily or otherwise, or they fled into the bush. Very few stayed in the fighting zone.

/21. Discussions

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21. Discussions with village loaders and other displaced persons emphasize that while all the people were frightened by the fighting, the Ibos in particular were also frightened by the secessionist claims that if they fell into the hands of the Federal troops they would be killed. This fear of being killed by the Federal troops is real and as a result the Ibos in the bush in Federal occupied areas are very slow to come out of hiding. They usually do so only after one of their numbers has made contact with the Federal troops and is able to re-assure the others they will not be harmed. When they do decide to come out they sometimes appear suddenly and in hundreds. Once they are in camps or back in their villages most of them do not display any fear of the Federal troops.

22. The actual situation of the civilian population varies between the areas affected:

- (a) In the Rivers and South Eastern States life is returning to normal except in the areas near the front. Displaced persons who retreated with the secessionists are still returning in considerable numbers. The relationship between these people and the Federal troops appears to be good. On the other hand investigations indicate that the relationship between these people and the Ibos is strained.
- (b) In the Ibo-speaking area in the Mid-Western State life appears to have returned to normal except in the areas on the west bank of the Niger River. These areas are on occasion infiltrated by the secessionists and the inhabitants of some villages are kept in camps for security reasons.

(c) In

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- (c) In the Ibo provinces of ABAKALIKI and NSUKKA which have been held by Federal troops for a relatively long time and, where the fighting was not very heavy, the inhabitants appear to have returned in large numbers. The civil administration is taking over. There appears to be plenty of staple food in these areas.
- (d) In the areas more recently taken by the Federal troops both north (AWKA - AWGU - OKIGWI - AFIKPO) and south (OWERRI - ABA - ITU) of the secessionist held area most of the inhabitants are still hiding or with the secessionists. The Army, Civil Administration, the National Committee for Rehabilitation and the volunteer agencies are providing food and medical care on an emergency basis and endeavouring to establish the confidence that will bring people out of hiding.
- (e) The cities and large towns are still quite empty, although their populations are increasing slowly. It is assumed that their former inhabitants are either with the secessionists or in their home villages.

23. Displaced persons found in camps appear to belong to one or other of the following categories:

- (a) Non-Ibo people who were removed compulsorily from their homes when the secessionists were withdrawing under Federal military pressure.
- (b) Ibos and non-Ibos who were frightened into hiding by the secessionist claims that they would be killed by the advancing Federal Forces.

/(c) Ibos

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- (c) Ibos normally living in non-Ibo areas which have been retaken. These prefer to remain in camps while the war is still on.
- (d) Ibos living near the present front line who have been detained because of their potential alliance with the secessionists.
- (e) Ibos in areas in which infiltration is taking place.

These have been placed in camps for security reasons.

24. It should be noted that there are many Ibos now living in war affected areas held by Federal Forces (see paragraph 22). Some of these Ibos state that among their numbers are some who fear reverses to the Federal Force, as they might result in them being harmed by the Federal troops or being treated as collaborators by the secessionists.

25. The team noted that it encountered few well educated Ibos, the majority of whom are assumed to be in the secessionist held territory.

26. The team saw many cases of malnutrition, most of them caused by a lack of protein, among the displaced persons in the camps and at the Red Cross clinics. The condition of the refugees seemed to depend on how long they had been in hiding. Those in the worst condition were the elderly people, women and children who had been in the bush for ten months or more. The most common complaints mentioned by doctors were malnutrition, anaemia and dysentery. At present the greatest concentration of displaced persons needing help appears to be in the UYO- IKOT EKPENE area. Here the Red Cross estimates that, in mid-November, up to 350,000 were receiving a weekly ration sufficient to provide a meal every other day.

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27. It is the Observers' belief that a large number of people are still hiding in the bush in areas held by the Federal troops. If these people should come out of hiding all at once their numbers will present a tremendous requirement for food and medical care.

REHABILITATION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

28. The programme for rehabilitating the civilian population of areas occupied by the Federal Forces is as follows:-

- (a) Immediate provision of food, medical care and shelter.
- (b) Return of displaced persons to their villages, where possible, with food and medical care continuing to be provided on an emergency basis.
- (c) As the people get settled into their homes and are able to do something for themselves, the withdrawal of emergency assistance.
- (d) Return of normal peace time conditions.

29. The Observers found that the provision of shelter is not normally a problem as there are many buildings available in most parts of the country.

30. In many of the areas local foodstuffs are still available, the critical shortages being in protein, vitamins and salt. It should, however, be noted that the problem of malnutrition caused by a shortage of protein existed in the area even in peacetime.

31. The Observers noted that when an area is first occupied the Army provides the displaced persons with food, and, as far as possible, with medical care. This responsibility is then taken over wholly or in part by the National Committee for Rehabilitation and the volunteer agencies, mainly the Red Cross, assisted in many cases by soldiers.

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32. When the Observers first arrived this arrangement was not in operation in all areas and where it was operating the Civil Administration and volunteer agencies suffered from a lack of personnel, medical supplies and transport. Since then a considerable improvement has been noticed. The Nigerian Red Cross has moved into the PORT HARCOURT Sector. More relief personnel and transport have been provided. The co-operation in the field between the Army and the volunteer agencies seems to be good. However, shortages of medical personnel, drugs and transport still exist and in some areas such as UYO relief supplies were still inadequate in mid November because of transportation difficulties.

33. The effectiveness of the emergency care being given impressed the team very much. The death rate drops rapidly once the displaced persons come under the care of those involved in providing emergency aid. The majority of persons suffering from malnutrition are returning to good health.

34. The next stage, in which the civil administration takes over from the Army and the volunteer agencies, is underway in those areas most distant from the front. The Observers consider that if more areas were put under civilian control the return of the population might be expedited. However, where the civil administration is taking over its effectiveness is hampered by lack of qualified officials and of transport.

35. Part of the problem of acquiring adequate staff in the East Central State appears to be an understandable desire to fill positions with Ibos from the State. The lack of educated Ibos in Federal held territory makes this a difficult goal to achieve, at least until the war is ended.

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36. A comment on the problems which are likely to arise when the war ends would appear appropriate. It has already been pointed out that a sudden increase in the number of refugees could overwhelm the facilities at present available to handle them. If the war ends as a result of a negotiated peace, it may be possible to handle the situation by utilizing the resources of the Armed Forces. If, however, the war ends through military action the Armed Forces will probably be required for purely military tasks and the civil administration and the volunteer agencies may have to handle the problem without their assistance. Whichever situation occurs, quick action will be required to ensure the survival of a maximum number of the people needing help.

SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO PROPERTY

37. In any war, civil or otherwise, damage and destruction of property is inevitable and this war is no exception. The damage is the result of deliberate destruction of public facilities and installations, damage from the fighting, the inevitable looting as well as deterioration caused by neglect and weather.

38. Most of the damage to public facilities appears to have been done by the secessionist troops in an effort to delay or inconvenience the advancing Federal troops. In most of the Federal held portions of the war affected areas roads have been cratered and bridges destroyed on both roads and railways. Electric generating plants and water supply systems have been put out of action. Communication systems have been seriously damaged.

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39. In so far as buildings are concerned, most of the damage has taken place in the areas affected by the fighting. Villages visited that were not in the areas affected by the fighting were undamaged. While the percentage of buildings totally destroyed is small, a large number in the towns and cities in the area east of the Niger have suffered damage. In addition, in some areas it is evident that materials including corrugated iron sheets have been taken from buildings to construct the small section posts along the roads. This is understandable in view of the condition which prevails during the rainy season.

40. Most of the damage to buildings appears to have been caused by small arms or artillery fire. The team has not found that the Federal Forces are following a policy of wantonly destroying Ibo property.

41. The team has noted that a number of buildings that have been left empty are partially exposed to the elements because of missing doors, broken windows, etc. These include public buildings.

42. Many of the buildings in the area are completely unguarded and as a result there has been considerable looting. From the evidence the Observers consider that this looting has been carried out by civilians and the military of both sides.

43. Another category of Ibo property is that in regions of Nigeria outside the war affected zones which was abandoned by Ibo families moving back to the East Central State. The handling of this property is dealt with in the next section.

CARE AND RESTORATION OF PROPERTY

44. The repair of damage to property caused by the war or associated factors is considered under three categories:

/(a) Restoration

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- (a) Restoration of public services and facilities.
- (b) Care of Ibo property outside the war affected areas.
- (c) Repair of property in the war affected area

45. The Army carries out emergency repairs to those public facilities it requires, in particular the roads, where it has constructed temporary bridges, by-passes, etc. The repair of public services, such as light and water, is handled by the civil administration, which is just now coming to grips with the problem. Progress is slow and is hindered by a lack of resources. There is a great deal to be done.

46. The care of Ibo property outside the war affected areas seems to be well in hand. In the Mid-Western State a committee has been set up to take care of all abandoned property. It has compiled a detailed register of all such property indicating its value and the extent of the damage, supported in most cases by a photograph of the property. Caretakers are appointed and rents, less expenditures such as repairs and taxes, are credited to the absentee owners. Similarly, movable property is stored by the Police and a register maintained.

47. In the North there is a similar arrangement although the situation differs slightly in that the Ibos carried their movable property away with them. They also transferred their bank balances to banks within the secessionist held area. The team inspected records and property at KANO, KADUNA and ZARIA and interviewed a cross section of owners of abandoned houses who had returned to KANO, claimed their property and received the rents which had been collected on their behalf. Of approximately 5,000 abandoned properties in KANO, 54 had been reclaimed, and a similar situation prevailed in the other Northern towns visited.

/48. Little

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48. Little appears to have been done as yet to repair damaged buildings in the war affected areas. The State Administrator for the East Central State has a plan for attacking the problem. In the meantime the Observers consider an immediate problem is that of protecting buildings and their contents from looting and the weather. Some efforts have been made to protect movable property; in ENUGU for example the civil administration has collected some such items for safe keeping.

CONDUCT OF THE FEDERAL TROOPS

49. The Observers found that the Federal troops were for the most part aware of the instructions in "The Code of Conduct" and were following these instructions. They neither saw nor heard any evidence that the Federal Forces were committing acts with intent to destroy the Ibo people. The Observers did see considerable evidence that the troops were assisting the civilian population, in particular by feeding them and providing medical assistance until the civil administration and volunteer agencies could take over. In some areas the Army still operates the camps for displaced persons, the actual standard of care varying from very good to fair.

50. The troops seen by the Observers appeared to be under the control of their officers. The Observers noted that most of the officers are young and that the number of NCOs with pre-war experience is small in comparison with the size of the Army.

51. While the majority of soldiers have displayed a correct, tolerant and helpful attitude towards the civilian population the Observers did receive complaints of abuse at the hands of soldiers. These incidents appeared to be most frequent at road blocks in the afternoon and they may be attributable
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to the seemingly large supplies of beer available to the troops.

52. An initial meeting was held with the Chief of the Air Force to discuss the conduct of air operations. A copy of the Nigerian Air Force Code of Operations, dated 14 January, 1968 was obtained. It states that non-military targets will not be bombed and that any gathering of civilian population will be avoided. Arrangements were made to obtain mission reports as required. Further investigation on Air Force activities will have to await advances by Federal Forces.

53. The Air Force is continuing to drop Safe Conduct Passes. The team encountered some displaced persons who had made use of these passes.

PRISONERS OF WAR

54. Few POWs were found in the operational areas, for two reasons. First, any prisoners taken were evacuated with a minimum of delay and secondly, because many secessionist soldiers, when capture was imminent, discarded their uniforms and passed themselves off as villagers and were often treated as displaced persons.

55. The Observers visited Prisoners of War at several locations. They reported that at PORT HARCOURT and at KIRI-KIRI and IKOYI prisons in LAGOS there was considerable room for improvement. These improvements should include providing the following conditions laid down in the Geneva Convention:

- (a) Prisoners of War must have freedom of movement within their camp.
- (b) Officers must be separate from other ranks.
- (c) Prisoners of War have the right to communicate by letter with their families, subject always to censorship.

/(d) Red

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- (d) Red Cross must have constant access.
- (e) Reasonable amenities, such as exercise, games and reading material, must be available.
- (f) Medical attention must be constant.

56. The situation at the Prisoners of War camp at MAKURDI, which a team visited on 17th November, 1968 is similar to those at the other camps that have already been reported upon.

57. The Observers consider that a form of screening tribunal would be of value in reducing the numbers of prisoners of war and therefore the strain on the system and in promoting good will.

58. Some action has been taken by the Federal Army and more is planned. The Observers will be checking on the actions taken. The Red Cross should, of course, have the continuing responsibility for observing and reporting on Prisoners of War conditions.

SPECIAL ALLEGATIONS

59. When the Observer Team was formed it was anticipated that a considerable part of its function would be to investigate international allegations concerning the behaviour of Federal troops. In point of fact, there have been only two that were sufficiently substantiated to merit investigation by the Observers.

60. The first concerned the incident at OKIGWI on 30th September, 1968 in which two members of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and two members of the World Council of Churches were killed. This was investigated at the request of FMG. The report was critical of the behaviour of some Federal soldiers and of the ICRC procedure in the event of their personnel and buildings becoming
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involved in the fighting. The Commander on the spot also ordered his own inquiry into the incident. The Observers were informed that its findings will be issued by the FMG.

61. The second allegation concerned press reports in CANADA that approximately 500 civilians had been shot by Federal troops when they entered the village of URUA INYANG on 4th October, 1968. After interviewing local elders and other inhabitants and a clergyman who was in the area at the time, and inspecting the market place involved, the team was unanimous in its opinion that no such massacre took place.

VOLUNTEER AGENCIES

62. There is little question that when the Observers arrived there were officers and men of the Federal Army who classed the members of the volunteer agencies working with the secessionists, particularly those belonging to the Red Cross, as mercenaries. This could be attributed partly to the well publicised activities of these agencies in flying relief supplies to the secessionists while their activities in Federal held areas seemed less extensive and received less recognition.

63. During the past two months the activities of the volunteer agencies in the Federal held areas have expanded considerably. The Nigerian Red Cross and the ICRC have moved into Federal held areas not previously covered. There has been an increase in the number of personnel deployed in the operational areas and in the transport available for moving supplies. The co-operation in the field between the Federal troops, the civil administration and the volunteer agencies is reported as being good. In summary, the situation is improving although shortages still exist. It is to be hoped that this improvement has convinced those who questioned the activities of the volunteer agencies that their

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work is essential to the survival of Nigerians on both sides of the battle line.

SUMMARY

64. During the period 24th September - 23rd November the Observers representing Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom visited all the Federal held sectors of those parts of Nigeria that can be classed as "war affected areas" as well as some parts of Northern Nigeria. They were able to go where they wanted when they wanted. They were free to approach and speak to a wide variety of people. Most areas were visited more than once. The Observers were accompanied on most visits by representatives of the Nigerian and foreign press.

65. The Observers found that in the areas visited during the period under report the FMG was following its declared policies for protecting Ibo people and Ibo property in Federal held areas. Specific findings for the period under report are:-

- (a) Genocide: The United Nations definition of genocide was used. It is the committing of certain acts with intent to destroy - wholly or in part - a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such. The Observers neither saw nor heard evidence that the Federal Army is following such a policy towards the Ibo people. There is evidence that the Federal Military Government and the Nigerian Army have a programme to assist all persons affected by the war, including Ibos. Based on what the Observers saw and heard they are of the opinion that the use of the term "genocide" is unwarranted.

/(b) Attitude

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- (b) Attitude of Civilians: The Ibo inhabitants of the war affected areas have a real fear that they will be killed if they fall into the hands of the Federal troops. The evidence is that this fear in most cases is dispelled by the treatment they receive when they do encounter Federal troops. The people from the Rivers and South-Eastern States who also live in the areas affected do not seem to suffer from this particular fear.
- (c) Care of Displaced Persons: The combined efforts of the Army, the civil administration and the volunteer agencies, which are increasing steadily, appear adequate in most but not all areas to cope with present demands for emergency care of displaced persons. The emergency care being given is saving the lives of a large number of people and all those concerned are to be commended for their work.
- (d) Rehabilitation of Population: The part of the war affected areas west of the Niger River and those on the periphery of the area east of the Niger have returned, or are returning, to near normal conditions with the civil administration in charge or in the progress of assuming responsibility. The takeover by the civil administration is slow, being hampered by a lack of qualified officials and transport.
- (e) Prisoners of War: While there are not a great number of prisoners of war, the Observers reported that the conditions under which they lived were not of an adequate standard. It is understood that action is being taken to correct the situation.

/(f) Care

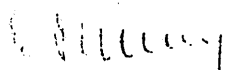
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- (f) Care and Repair of Property: The FMG and civil administration have programmes for caring for and repairing damaged property, both public and private. Progress is being made in implementing these plans, but it is slow and there is much to be done. Help from outside the war affected areas will be required to ensure a rapid return to normal conditions. Measures have been taken to care for the property outside the war affected areas.
- (g) Conduct of Federal Troops: The troops of the Nigerian Army are aware of the instructions in "the Code of Conduct" and they appear to be observing them. The troops seen by the team appear to be under control of their officers. They are taking positive action to obtain the confidence of the local population by assisting them in re-establishing a normal life.

66. Future: The general situation as reported here is unlikely to change as long as the fronts remain relatively static. A change in the form of the war, and in particular an end to the war, will undoubtedly produce a sudden increase in the numbers of persons requiring food and medical assistance. This increase could overwhelm the facilities available to handle it unless additional assistance is available very quickly. In addition outside technical assistance may be needed to help restore the public facilities essential for a rapid return to normal life, particularly in the cities.


Major-General W.A. Milroy
CANADA


Colonel Alfons Olkiewicz
POLAND


Major-General A. Raab
SWEDEN


Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson
UNITED KINGDOM

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LIST OF MEMBERS OF OBSERVER TEAM

CANADA

Major General William A. Milroy (from 17 Sep 68)
Lieutenant Colonel E. B. M. Pinnington (from 27 Sep 68)

POLAND

Colonel Alfons Olkiewicz (from 1 Oct 68)
Mr Tadeusz Kumanek (from 1 Oct 68)
Lieutenant Michal Byczy (from 1 Oct 68)

SWEDEN

Major General Arthur Raab (from 14 Sep 68)
Lieutenant Colonel Carl Areskoug (from 19 Sep 68)

UNITED KINGDOM

Major General Henry T. Alexander (from 11 Sep - 24 Oct 68)
Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson (from 30 Oct 68)
Lieutenant Colonel Douglas J. Cairns (from 11 Sep 68)
Major The Honourable W. D. Arbuthnott (from 30 Oct 68)

ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

| | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| Brigadier General Negga Teghegn | { Ethiopia | (from 5 Oct 68) |
| Captain O. Yilma | | (from 5 Oct 68) |
| Major General Sliman Hoffman | { Algeria | (from 3 Oct 68) |
| Mr Omar Lefgoun | | (from 3 Oct 68) |

UNITED NATIONS

Mr N-G Gussing (from 18 Aug 68)
Mr Erik Jensen (from 18 Aug 68)
Mr D. W. Caulfield (from 6 Oct 68)

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SUMMARY OF VISITS

1. First Nigerian Division 25 - 30 Sep 68
ENUGU, AWGU, ISHIAGU, UDI, OBILAGU, ABAKALIKI, AFIKPO
Major General Milroy, Major General Raab, Major General
Alexander, Lieutenant Colonel Areskoug, Lieutenant Colonel
Cairns
2. Third Nigerian Marine Commando Division 5 - 10 Oct 68
PORT HARCOURT, ABA, OWERRI, CALABAR, UYO, IKOT EKPENE
Major General Milroy, Major General Raab, Major General
Alexander, Colonel Olkiewicz, Lieutenant Colonel Pinnington,
Lieutenant Colonel Areskoug, Mr Kumanek, Lieutenant Byczy
3. Second Nigerian Division 15 - 18 Oct 68
BENIN, ASABA, OGWASHI-UKU, ONITSHA, KWALE, WARRI, UGHELLI,
OZORRO, SAPELE
Major General Milroy, Major General Raab, Major General
Alexander, Colonel Olkiewicz, Lieutenant Colonel Pinnington,
Lieutenant Colonel Cairns, Mr Kumanek, Lieutenant Byczy
4. Special Investigation - OKIGWI 3 Oct 68
Major General Alexander, Colonel Olkiewicz, Lieutenant Colonel
Areskoug
5. First Nigerian Division 23 - 27 Oct 68
ENUGU, ABAKALIKI, AFIKPO, OKIGWI
Colonel Olkiewicz, Lieutenant Colonel Areskoug
6. Third Nigerian Marine Commando Division 23 - 27 Oct 68
PORT HARCOURT, OPOBO, ABAK, AZUMINI, UYO, URUA INYANG, AB.
Major General Raab, Lieutenant Colonel Pinnington, Lieutenant
Colonel Cairns, Mr Kumanek
7. Prisoners of War in Lagos 1 Nov 68
KIRI-KIRI and IKOYI
Major General Milroy, Major General Raab, Brigadier Sir
Bernard Fergusson, Colonel Olkiewicz
8. KANO and NORTH CENTRAL STATES 4 - 7 Nov 68

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KANO, ZARIA, KADUNA

Major General Raab, Colonel Olkiewicz, Lieutenant Colonel Cairns

9. First Nigerian Division 4 - 7 Nov 68

NSUKKA, AWKA

Major General Milroy, Major Arbuthnott, Mr Kumanek

10. Second Nigerian Division 4 - 7 Nov 68

BENIN, ASABA, KWALE, WARRI

Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson, Lieutenant Byczy

11. First Nigerian Division 13 - 19 Nov 68

MAKURDI, AGOJA, IKOM, OBUDU

Major General Raab, Lieutenant Colonel Pinnington, Major Arbuthnott, Mr Kumanek

12. Third Marine Commando Division 13 - 17 Nov 68

PORT HARCOURT, ABA, OMERRI, AHOADA

Major General Milroy, Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson, Colonel Olkiewicz, Lieutenant Colonel Areskoug, Lieutenant Byczy

NOTE:-

On some of the visits listed above the Team was accompanied by the Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations and/or his Assistants and Observers representing the Organisation of African Unity. In addition these other observers made separate visits to different sectors.

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/3/05 |

ANNEX 'C'
TO OBSERVER TEAM REPORT ON
ACTIVITIES 24 SEP - 23 NOV 68

REPORTS

1. The Observer Team have issued six reports. These are:-
 - a. Three interim reports, as follows:
 - (1) First Interim Report - "Visit to First Nigerian Division" dated 2 Oct 68
 - (2) Second Interim Report - "Visit to Third Nigerian Marine Commando Division" dated 14 Oct 68
 - (3) Third Interim Report - "Visit to Second Nigerian Division" dated 23 Oct 68
 - b. Two reports on allegations involving special incidents, as follows:
 - (1) Report of Investigation into the circumstances of deaths at OKIGWI, dated 4 Oct 68
 - (2) Report on Investigation into allegations of the massacre of civilians at URUA INYANG, dated 2 Nov 68
 - c. A report on the visit to Prisoners of War at KIRI-KIRI and IKOYI, dated 3 Nov 68.

(The activities of the Observers for the period since the Third Interim Report are covered in this report).
2. The other Observers have produced the following reports:-
 - a. The representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations:
 - (1) First Interim Report by the representative of the Secretary-General to Nigeria on Humanitarian Activities on his visit to the Northern Front, issued 9 Oct 68
 - (2) Second Interim Report by the representative of the Secretary-General to Nigerian on Humanitarian Activities on visits to the Southern and Western Fronts, issued 30 Oct 68

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- (3) Third Interim Report of the representative of the Secretary-General to Nigeria on Humanitarian Activities, issued 2 Nov 68
 - (4) Report of the representative of the Secretary-General to Nigeria on Humanitarian Activities on an incident at OKIGWI, issued 8 Oct 68
- b. The Organisation of African Unity
- (1) Report No. 1 on the Visit to Third Nigerian Marine Commando Division, issued on 14 Oct 68
 - (2) Report No. 2 on the Visit to Second Nigerian Division, issued on 22 Oct 68
 - (3) Report No. 3 on the Visit to First Nigerian Division and to Prisoners of War Camps in LAGOS, issued 15 Nov 68
 - (4) A composite report on the activities of the Organisation of African Unity Observers during the period of their stay in NIGERIA is in course of preparation.

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Exdis file - 12/23/69
19901

December 23, 1969

~~SECRET~~ *Handwritten initials*

TO: The Under Secretary

THROUGH: S/S *RHB*

FROM: U/CF - C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr. *CF*

SUBJECT: Biafra Relief - Expanding Airlift
ACTION MEMORANDUM

Proposal

To increase relief and to keep American assistance as inconspicuous as possible I propose that funding support be provided to the International Committee of the Red Cross to aid it in financing airlift capacity additional to the JCA airlift.

Discussion

The Order of Malta and an Icelandic airplane company, Frachtflug, have obtained permission from President Albert Bongo to fly four DC 6-B's twice nightly from Libreville or Port Gentil to Uli airport in Biafra.

The Order of Malta is an old and highly respected benevolent welfare organization which is recognized as a sovereign entity by 33 countries. Its work to date in the Nigeria/Biafra conflict has consisted of support to a medical team in Biafra, and evacuation of children from the enclave to Order of Malta centers in Libreville and Abidjan. (Since 1966 they have also had a medical program in South Vietnam which includes 46 doctors, nurses, technicians and office personnel.)

Handwritten notes:
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REL 279
Biafra - Nigeria

Handwritten: U/CF - C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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When the Order of Malta learned of the current impasse on the ICRC airlift, they offered to be of assistance to any government or responsible organization which felt it could use the Order of Malta's help. A member of my staff met with the Count de Pierredon of Paris who suggested that the Order of Malta would be willing to sponsor an airlift to Uli if a suitable base of operations could be found. Through their own diplomatic channels, the Order of Malta received permission from President Albert Bongo to position four aircraft at Libreville or Port Gentil.

With an average of 3 out of 4 aircraft flying nightly two flights each, deliveries to Uli could be increased at least 70 tons per night or 2100 tons monthly.

The Icelandic company Frachtflug operated a DC-6 from Cotonou to Uli when the ICRC was flying. During the time of their operation, Frachtflug operating 1 out of the 6 aircraft in the total ICRC fleet delivered approximately 30 percent of all supplies from Cotonou and at a lower cost than the other aircraft. Their proposal at this time is especially attractive as they charge on a per ton delivered basis. Therefore, costs of unanticipated maintenance and other technical problems are absorbed by the charterer and not by the airlift sponsor.

While the Order of Malta would operate the airlift, we would provide funding support through the International Committee of the Red Cross or a similar international organization. Four aircraft would cost approximately \$1 million per month.

Advantages

1. The Order of Malta and Icelandic have permission from the Government of Gabon to fly.
2. Two aircraft can begin operations within two weeks after completion of plan.

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3. Using the Knights of Malta and an Icelandic company, and funding the ICRC or a similar organization, permits keeping the American silhouette at a minimum.

4. We would have an advantage of an alternative base of operations; if for some reason Sao Tome is out of operation the airlift could continue from Libreville.

Scenario

Supporting Steps:

- (a) U/CF would work out with A.I.D. a formula of contribution - possibly a formula similar to those used for previous U.S. contributions to the International Committee of the Red Cross.
- (b) Members of the U/CF staff would meet representatives of the Knights of Malta and Frachtflug in Geneva to refine modalities.
- (c) The Special Coordinator or members of his staff would meet with ICRC leaders to discuss the proposal.
- (d) Arrangements would be made to ship PL 480 food through registered voluntary relief agencies.

Recommendation

That you approve this course of action.

Approve DEC 29 1969

Disapprove

Clearances:

AF - DNewsom *[initials]*
AF/SN - WBrubeck *[initials]*
AID/AFR/CWA - WHNorth *[initials]*

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| By | MNARA Date 10/5/05 |

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04480 230905Z

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 EUR-20 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01 RSR-01 IGA-02
SR-01 ORM-03 /156 W

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R 230845Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4040
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 4480
FOR UYCF

REF: STATE 210652; LIBREVILLE 1292

1. IN RESPONSE REFTEL MISSION OFFS DISCUSSED DEPLOYMENT PLUTO
WITH BIGNAMI AND SCHAEGLER OF ICRC.

2. PLUTO DUE SANTA ISABEL DECEMBER 23 FOR LOADING.

3. ICRC HAS DECIDED USE PLUTO TO TRANSFER FOOD STOCKS FROM SANTA
ISABEL, SAO TOME, AND COTONOU TO LIBREVILLE WHICH WILL OCCUPY IT
NEXT 4-6 WEEKS. ICRC FEARS FMG WILL TAKE DIM VIEW UTILIZATION
PLUTO THIS PURPOSE. COMMITTEE THEREFORE CONSIDERING MAINTAINING
PLUTO ON LIBREVILLE RUN AND EXPLORING WITH GERMANS POSSIBILITY
PROVIDING SECOND VESSEL FOR USE CALABAR AREA.

4. ICRC HAS OWN LOGISTIC PROBLEMS AND SEEMS FIRMLY COMMITTED
ABOVE COURSE DESPITE OUR POINTING OUT GREAT NEED FOR PLUTO ON
CALABAR RUN MENTIONED LAGOS 10831.
RIMESTAD

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Authority VMD 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State

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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
INFO US Mission GENEVA (Routine)

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Order of Malta/Icelandic Airlift

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REF: (A) State 208606, (B) Libreville/~~XXXX~~

Understand airport at Port Gentil may be available for proposed Order of Malta/Icelandic airlift. In this regard we would like to have following information:

What is capacity of warehousing at Port Gentil airstrip?

What is port situation there as compared to Libreville? sufficient ~~higher~~ lighters (backup, warehousing labor)? Are ~~lighters required on~~ available for the increased workload?

~~can strips put in at docks?~~ What are the problems of transportation from port to airstrip? FYI: Would appreciate inquiries kept as low key and indirect as possible.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF:RADavidson

DRAFTING DATE
12/22/69

TEL. EXT.
22033

APPROVED BY:
U/CF:JWFoley, Jr.

CLEARANCES:

~~XXXX~~

U/CF:AEDewey

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Authority VMD 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13

SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 IMC-02

E-15 DOT-12 RSRA-01 /189 W

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R 221140Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4559
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY RABAT
CONGEN CASABLANCA 45

CONFIDENTIAL ALGIERS 2240

REF LISBON 3005

POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

1. WE HAVE NO INFO SUBSTANTIATING REPORT THAT PLANE
DOWN OVER ALGERIA TERRITORY.
EAGLETON

CONFIDENTIAL

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

SECRET

Seen By The
Under Secretary

TO: The Under Secretary
THROUGH: S/S *RMB*
FROM: AF - David D. Newsom *DDN*
SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra--ACTION MEMORANDUM

This is a report to bring you up to date on the political and military situation in the Nigerian war, prospects for a further negotiating effort following collapse of the Emperor's Addis initiative, progress on our own negotiating scenario, the question of a year-end truce, and status of contingency planning in the event of a Federal military victory.

I believe it would be useful to meet with you on these matters following which, based on the memorandum below and your guidance, we will prepare a memorandum for the President informing him of the current situation and actions we are undertaking.

Political and Military Situation

The FMG is launched on an offensive, has made some gains, but it is too early to predict results. With both sides presently thus absorbed in a military test of strength, a new move to bring them to negotiation will have to wait on a more propitious climate.

Following collapse of the Addis Talks, the Emperor has, in effect, vindicated the Nigerians by asserting that the talks were to be OAU-sponsored. Nevertheless, the Biafrans may score a propaganda victory because they turned up and the FMG did not. The FMG, by its public assertions that the talks were to be not only OAU-sponsored but under the OAU Resolution, has hardened its position. The public statements of the two sides will certainly complicate the next effort to bring them to the table, even for second-level unconditional talks. The Emperor, whose several months of effort have now reached temporary impasse, will probably want a period to reassess the problem before considering further efforts.

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AF - David D. Newsom

AF/SN: WH Brubaker : gw

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We have not yet had an opportunity to assess at first hand the Emperor's reaction to these events. Among the Africans, the FMG position may be bolstered if it appears to be winning militarily. However, the apparent Biafran willingness to negotiate and apparent Federal intransigence may win increased support and even recognition for the Biafrans from some African countries, particularly if the military situation reverts to stalemate. We know that both Sierra Leone and Ghana have moved a long way in lending discreet diplomatic assistance to the Biafrans, for example.

US Negotiating Scenario--Progress Report

Both the military situation and the results of Addis call for some weeks' delay before launching a further overt initiative toward negotiation. At the same time, while the position taken by the parties on the Addis issues somewhat narrows the possibilities, the Addis experience argues for the kind of mediating effort we have envisaged.

It is clear from Addis that some patient and skillful preliminary work by a mediator will be necessary, if there is to be any chance of bringing the parties into useful negotiation. We have, in fact, begun steps to develop a mediator in the person of Sir Arthur Lewis (biographic sketch attached). He can very usefully occupy this post-Addis pause in taking some preliminary soundings in Lagos and Owerri.

You have seen the scenario developed by Carl Salans which lays out exhaustively, we believe, the problems and options for a negotiating initiative. We are continuing to develop this scenario in light of the course of events. From Mr. Brubeck's conversations with Sir Arthur Lewis, Ralph Bunche, and McGeorge Bundy, we have established the following: Sir Arthur Lewis is probably acceptable to both sides, knows a lot of the key people on both sides, shows a keen and balanced understanding of the problem, and is willing to undertake at least an exploration toward a mediator's role. Ralph Bunche thinks him the best of the candidates we have considered, and preferable to Robert Gardiner. Lewis is prepared to make an exploratory trip, under nominally private auspices, to see how far he can establish himself as an interlocutor between Lagos and Owerri. He will be here on Tuesday, December 23rd, at which time we hope to decide the auspices and timing for his trip. We will consider approaching the Council on Foreign Relations or the World Council of Churches with the idea of one of

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them sending him out to observe and report. Alternatively, we might seek Carnegie Endowment backing for a project in which Lewis would go to Lagos and Addis to seek their cooperation in mounting a Pugwash-type meeting in Europe of some Nigerians and Biafrans. If we take the latter course, we might well go ahead and try to have such a meeting, but in any event, it would provide adequate credentials for Lewis' trip. He is prepared to go in late January and, if developments warrant, to take leave from Princeton in the Spring term and pursue the mediator's task.

While, as noted, the Addis events raised some further problems, there have also been some encouraging developments. The French appear to have been, for the first time, cooperative in trying to promote negotiations and we are hopeful that we can build on this cooperation to get support for a mediator scheme. The British are already favorably inclined to Lewis and domestic pressures are mounting in Britain, so that we think the prospects for their cooperation are good. We also think that, properly staged, an approach to the Emperor to get his support for Lewis' efforts may be possible. The argument would be that, direct negotiations having again failed, it is worth trying a more gradual and modest approach with a private emissary. (USUN believes there is a good chance that Bunche and U Thant would support the Lewis effort privately with the Emperor.) The Biafrans will probably be receptive in any case, will probably find Lewis congenial, and therefore there is a good chance of getting Houphouet and the French to cooperate with him. The mounting pressures of the war should, in any event, make the Biafrans increasingly disposed to serious negotiation. The FMG, presently concentrating on military victory and acutely sensitive to non-African involvement, may be considerably more difficult. But if, as is likely, in a few more weeks the Federal offensive has clearly failed to achieve significant gains, Lagos may again be more receptive to the kind of conversation Lewis would hope to have.

Beyond this, further planning will have to wait on the results of the Lewis trip.

Mercy Truce

The Hague Group, the Swiss, and the ICRC have all considered a truce appeal but governmental reactions have been mixed and it appears that nothing will be done.

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However, this weekend the Italians have proposed an immediate appeal by the Hague Group countries to the two parties, via the Emperor, for a December 23-January 6 truce. It is our judgment that the chances of genuine cooperation by the parties is almost nil. Gowon last week publicly declared the FMG would accept no truce this year. Nevertheless, we believe an effort is justified. We have told the Italians that, in principle, we are willing to associate ourselves with a Hague Group appeal but have asked for further details of their proposal.

Relief

Ambassador Ferguson is prepared to brief you on the status of efforts to expand the present Biafran Relief Airlift. He can also give you a progress report on our contingency planning toward a crash relief program and an expanded observer force in the event of a Federal military victory.

Recommendations

I believe it would be desirable to have your reactions to and comments on the above matters, as a basis for a memorandum to the President.

I therefore recommend that you meet with Ambassador Ferguson, Mr. Brubeck and myself for a general review on Nigeria.

Approve _____

DEC 29 1969

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Biographic Sketch on
Sir Arthur Lewis.

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gy *WMB*

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH

Sir Arthur Lewis

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Sir Arthur Lewis was born in St. Lucia, B.W. Indies, January 23, 1915. He attended St. Mary's College, St. Lucia, 1924-29; B.Com., received Ph.D. from the London School of Economics 1937; M. A., Manchester University (hon.) 1951; hon. Fellow, London School of Economics, 1959; Weizmann Institute, 1962.

He is Professor of Political Economy, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. He joined the faculty of Princeton University after serving as Vice Chancellor of the University of West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica. In 1963, he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. He was Economic Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ghana, 1957-58.

Sir Lewis married Gladys Isabel Jacobs May 5, 1947. They have two daughters.

He is the author of several books on Economics and Politics in West Africa.

December 22, 1969

pol 27 Bishop - Higgins

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 E-15 OB-01
IGA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28 TRSY-11
SR-01 ORM-03 RSR-01 7163 W

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12-22-69*

R 221520Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4034
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
----- 080706

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FOR UYCF

SUBJ: JOINT ICRC-LICROSS APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT NIGERIA
OPERATIONS.

REF: STATE 208699

1. REF PARA 1 REFEEL TEXT OF JOINT APPEAL DATED 19 DEC
FOLLOWS: QUOTE: THE SITUATION OF THE VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT
WHICH IS TEARING NIGERIA APART REMAINS A GRAVE PREOCCUPATION FOR
THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WHILE AWAITING A
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, WHICH ALL HOPE WILL BE REACHED SOON, EVERY
DAY BRINGS NEW AND INDESCRIBABLE SUFFERINGS.

ON EACH SIDE OF THE FRONT ASSISTANCE OF EVER INCREASING
DIMENSIONS IS NECESSARY. THE RED CROSS, AS WELL AS OTHER
ORGANIZATIONS, IS ENGAGED IN OBTAINING AND DISTRIBUTING RELIEF
TO THOSE WHO NEED IT.

NATIONAL SOCIETIES WHO HAVE SO GENEROUSLY SUPPORTED THIS
OPERATION HAVE FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED THE WISH TO RECEIVE JOINTLY
FROM THE ICRC AND THE LEAGUE THE LATTER IN THE NAME OF ITS
MEMBER SOCIETY IN NIGERIA AN OVERALL PICTURE OF THE SITUATION,

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By MW NARA Date 10/5/05



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SETTING OUT THE DIFFERENT PROGRAMS DEVOLVING ON THE RED CROSS AND THE NEEDS IN CASH AND IN KIND REQUIRED TO CARRY THEM OUT.

THE PRESENT APPEAL, WHICH COVERS A PERIOD OF FOUR MONTHS, MEETS THIS WISH. IN TRANSMITTING IT TODAY TO NATIONAL SOCIETIES, GOVERNMENTS AND GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS INTERESTED IN SUPPORTING THE EFFORTS OF THE RED CROSS, THE ICRC AND THE LEAGUE HOPE THAT IT WILL BE SYMPATHETICALLY RECEIVED AND THAT IT WILL SECURE FOR THE RED CROSS THE RESOURCES THAT IT SO URGENTLY NEEDS TO CONTINUE AND DEVELOP ITS HUMANITARIAN AND NEUTRAL ACTION IN THE SPIRIT OF RESOLUTION XXVI ADOPTED AT ISTANBUL BY THE XXITH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RED CROSS.

THE ICRC AND THE LEAGUE WILL RESPECT WISHES WHICH DONORS MIGHT EXPRESS AS TO THE PARTICULAR ASSIGNMENT OF RELIEF IN CASH OR IN KIND WHICH CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE. UNDESIGNATED GIFTS WILL BE ALLOCATED, ACCORDING TO THE URGENCY AND THE NEEDS, BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT PROGRAMS OUTLINED IN THE ATTACHED DOCUMENTS, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THEIR SIMULTANEOUS DEVELOPMENT.

THE ICRC AND THE LEAGUE ARE AWARE OF THE MAGNITUDE OF THE EFFORT WHICH IS ONCE AGAIN REQUESTED OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES. HOWEVER, THEY ARE CERTAIN THAT, EVER MINDFUL OF THE DISTRESS OF THE CONFLICT VICTIMS AND CONVINCED OF THE NECESSITY FOR THE RED CROSS TO REINFORCE ITS ACTION IN THIS TROUBLED REGION OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT, SOCIETIES WILL GENEROUSLY FURNISH THE RESOURCES REQUIRED TO CARRY OUT THE PROPOSED PROGRAMS OF ASSISTANCE AND FOR THIS THEY EXPRESS THEIR THANKS IN ADVANCE. SIGNED HENRIK BEER FOR LICROSS AND MARCEL NAVILLE FOR ICRC. UNQUOTE.

2. COPIES APPEAL AND ATTACHED BUDGET AND OPERATIONS PLAN AIR-MAILED DEPARTMENT AND LAGOS TODAY AND BEING POUCHED AS BACKUP.

3. NRC REQUIREMENTS DEC 1 TO MARCH 31 SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS IN US DOLLARS.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| COMMERCIAL TRANSPORT | \$448,000 |
| RC VEHICLES (PURCHASE, MAINTENANCE & OPERATING COSTS) | 627,000 |
| LOCAL PURCHASES | 648,000 |
| SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES | 108,000 |
| ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES | 36,700 |

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 04475 221552Z

1,867,700

4. LICROSS REQUIREMENTS SAME PERIOD \$10,700.

5. ICRC REQUIREMENTS SAME PERIOD \$3,940,000. DISTRIBUTED AS
FOLLOWS: NIGERIA \$242,000; BIAFRA \$558,000; COTONOU \$228,000;
SANTA ISABEL \$105,000; GENEVA \$84,000; PURCHASE MEDICINE FOR
BIAFRA \$615,000; FORWARDING AND HANDOVER OF RELIEF SUPPLIES
\$1,030,000; AIRCRAFT EXPENSES (CREWS & MAINTENANCE) \$1,040,000;
MEDICAID LIFT \$37,200.
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 UCF-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 RSC-01

SCS-04 E-15 SCA-01 PPT-02 IO-13 RSR-01 /078 W
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R 201115Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO AMEMBASSY SAIGON
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3004

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POST WOULD APPRECIATE INFORMATION REGARDING ED OR EDWARD
DAVIS WHO CLAIMS WORK FOR CONTINENTAL AIR SERVICE, SAIGON,
AND WHOSE FAMILY STILL LIVING IN SAIGON. HAS BEEN LIBREVILLE,
ALLEGEDLY AS "TOURIST", APPROXIMATELY TWO WEEKS. SUSPECT
CONNECTION WITH BIAFRAN ARMS LIFT. GP-4
CRIGLER

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10858 211039Z

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ACTION AID-28

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 UCF-05 IO-13 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 E-15

OB-01 BOB-01 TRSY-11 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00

RSC-01 IGA-02 RSR-01 /107 W

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R 201325Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 480

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 10858

SUBJECT: FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO NIGERIAN RED CROSS

REF: STATE 208699 *ne*

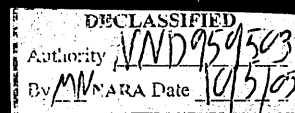
1. RECOMMEND USAID GRANT DOLS 280,000 TOWARD NIGERIAN RED CROSS RELIEF ACTION PLAN FOR DEC 1, 1969 THROUGH MARCH 31, 1970. PROPOSED BREAKDOWN AS FOLLOWS:

DOLS 100,000 TRANSPORTATION AND VEHICLE EXPENSES;
DOLS 50,000 PURCHASE OF DRUGS;
DOLS 50,000 AMERICAN PERSONNEL, INCLUDING THOSE PROVIDED THROUGH CDC, AMC AND OTHERS. (PLATT TO BE FUNDED SEPARATELY);
DOLS 50,000 STORAGE, PROVISION AND MAINTENANCE, INCLUDING FUMIGATION;
DOLS 30,000 MISCELLANEOUS, SUCH AS RENOVATION OF IKEJA MOTOR AND VEHICLE MAINTENANCE FACILITY.

2. AGREE USE LICROSS AS MAJOR CHANNEL FUNDING BUT WISH LIMIT APPLICATION US FUNDS TO NRC OPERATIONAL PLAN CATEGORIES PRE-DETERMINED BY USAID AFTER CONSULTATION WITH NRC. DECON 12-19-70. TRUEHEART

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy LIBREVILLE
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Amembassy PARIS
US Mission GENEVA

STATE _____

SUBJ: U/CF Relief Survey Mission: Summary of
Medical Findings - Enclave

1. Summary: Slow, creeping starvation of almost the entire population is the key finding in Biafra, as distinguished from earlier days of more spectacular "epidemics" of classical Kwashiorkor and mass deaths due to severe nutritional deprivation. The acceleration in the deterioration of the nutritional reserve status of almost the entire population is acute. This is clear from the recent Relief Survey Mission. End Summary.

2. 31.4% of the survey population had edema.
(Nutritional edema is a measure of advanced protein deprivation).

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U/CF: CCFerguson, Jr. *ccf*

DRAFTING DATE

12/18/69

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APPROVED BY:

U/CF: CCFerguson, Jr. *ccf*

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- a) Children 4 years of age and under had an edema rate of 42.2%.
- b) Adults 45 years of age and older had the highest edema rate, 52.1%.
- c) No segment of the population was spared. School age children and young adults had edema rates of 28.2% and 17.0%, respectively.

3. Weight loss is a more sensitive barometer of the nutritional status of a population. 63.2% of a limited population surveyed for height and weight, according to the Ikot Ibritim normogram, would qualify for food supplementation on a daily or weekly basis.

4. Children comprise a high percentage of the population.
- 1 out of 4 persons is 0-4 years of age.
 - 6 out of 10 are under 15 years of age.

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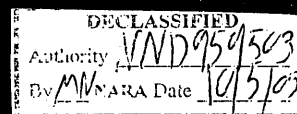
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5. Based on the survey, the following extrapolations were made:

- a) 400,000 persons require daily feeding.
- b) 1,700,000 persons require 3 rations a week.

6. The incidence and severity of malnutrition in Biafra is not uniformly distributed; it varies widely from one survey site to another.

7. To arrest further deterioration in the nutritional status of the population and to ensure identification of those most in need, the following diet/tonnages have been calculated as minimum needs under a selective feeding system:

- A) If a 630 calorie, 43.5 gram protein daily diet weighing 167 grams (composed of balanced amounts of cereal, CSM, stockfish and dry milk) were provided:

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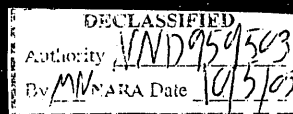
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(a) The daily feeding needs would require

71 tons per day

(b) The thrice-weekly feeding would require

130 tons per day

(c) Total tonnage per day would be 262 tons

(201 tons plus 30% wastage factor)

B) If a 48.5 gram protein daily diet consisting

only of stockfish and dry milk and weighing

101 grams were substituted, tonnage requirements

would be 160 tons per day (123 tons plus 30%

wastage factor).

8. Bearing in mind that malnutrition is a common denominator to all medical problems in Biafra, the major public health problems are:

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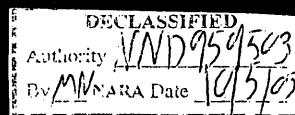
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- A) Measles: Measles vaccinations have been suspended in August. Epidemic season is approaching in December through March. Susceptible population under-immunized, particularly in recently-disturbed areas.
- B) Tuberculosis: Tuberculosis is an important clinical problem. No objective evidence of increased incidence of active cases from pre-war levels. BCG campaign being hampered by lack of petrol and being conducted in well-immunized areas against measles. No hope of affecting TB incidence without concurrent active treatment program.
- C) Whooping Cough: Widespread epidemic in infants. Significant cause of morbidity and death.

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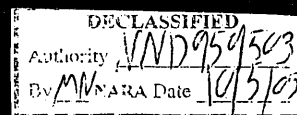
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D) Hepatitis: Apparent recent increase in clinical cases; medical personnel particularly at risk. Increase probably related to inadequate water supply and breakdown of sewage disposal in health facilities. Gamma globulin being ordered for key relief personnel.

E) Yaws: Reappearance in this region documented.

9. The major general medical and hospital problems are:

- A) Anemia of multiple causes.
- B) Malaria, primarily falciparum.
- C) Severe respiratory infections (pneumonia and bronchitis).
- D) Scabies.
- E) Intestinal parasites (roundworm and hookworm).
- F) Nonspecific diarrhea.

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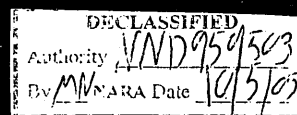
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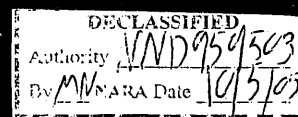
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| | <p>10. There have been no confirmed concurrent cases of yellow fever or smallpox within the enclave.</p> <p>11. No one knows or ever will know how many people have died as a result of this conflict. Quoted figures can only be estimates. Hospital death xxx rates, while valuable as indices, cannot be applied to the general population. Refugee camp statistics are subject to exaggeration and are not always reliable.</p> <p>12. Using standard demographic formulas based on medical records, prior smallpox inoculation campaign population figure for enclave computed at 3.24 million, excluding military.</p> <p>13. <u>Comment:</u> Population figure and population distribution being closely held due extreme political sensitivity this subject.</p> <p>END.</p> <p>[ROGERST]</p> | | |
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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01 L-03
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RSR-01 INR-07 /079 W
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O R 201055Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3003
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET LIBREVILLE 1292

SUBJECT: LOGISTICAL SUPPORT BIAFRAN RELIEF VIA LIBREVILLE

REF: STATE 208606 - *Pac 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria*

1. I GENTLY PROBED SUBJECT THIS MORNING WITH ICRC/REP GONTARD, REFERRING ONLY TO CONTINUING USG INTEREST IN POSSIBILITIES BEEFING UP BIAFRAN RELIEF PROGRAM IN GENERAL. ASKED TO KNOW HOW HIW OPERATION HERE WAS RUNNING SO FAR, WHAT SNAGS HE HAD WITH AND HOW IT COULD BE IMPROVED.

2. GONTARD SAID HE NOW HAD 700 TONS FOODSTUFFS IN LOCAL WAREHOUSE, BEING SHIPPED ONWARD VIA AVERAGE TWO DC-4 FLIGHTS (FRC) NIGHTLY. HAS SERIOUS PROBLEMS NOT ONLY WITH PORT HERE BUT WITH SHIPMENT FROM SANTA ISABEL AND COTONOU, HOWEVER, HAD ASKED FOR USE OF COASTER "PLUTO" (GENEVA 4447) BECAUSE ITS SHALLOW DRAFT MORE SUITABLE TO DOCK CONFIGURATION STA ISABEL AND BECAUSE IT COULD BE MORE QUICKLY UNLOADED AND FREED HERE. HOWEVER, SAID BIGNAMI/LAGOS CONTROLLED "PLUTO" AND OPPOSED ITS RELEASE FOR THIS TASK. GONTARD SAID THERE STILL 2,000 TONS STA ISABEL AND 7,000 TONS COTONOU AVAILABLE FOR USE HERE IF SHIPPING PROBLEMS SOLVED (HE PRESENTLY RECEIVING ALMOST DAILY C-97 FLIGHT WITH STOCKFISH FROM COTONOU).

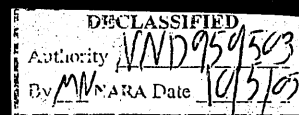
3. GONTARD'S SOLUTION FOR PORT PROBLEMS HERE AND STA ISABEL WOULD BE USE LANDING CRAFTS ON ENTIRE ROUTE FROM STA ISABEL/ COTONOU AND DISCHARGE ON BEACH. LIKE US, HE HAD EYED LOCAL

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LANDING CRAFTS FOR THIS PURPOSE BUT DECIDED AGAINST THEM SINCE THEY APPARENTLY TARRER WITH ARMS BRUSH (BUT, AS GONTARD ADMITTED, WHAT SHIP ISN'T?). SYSTEM WOULD INVOLVE OBTAINING GOVERNMENT PERMISSION USE BEACH AND BY-PASS POSRT AUTHORITIES, WHICH HE SAID LOCAL SHIPPING MAFIA WOULD STRONGLY OPPOSE; WOULD ALSO INVOLVE BUILDING NEW HANGAR SINCE ALL DEPOT SPACE NOW FULLY UTILIZED; WOULD REQUIRE SCRATCHING HARD TO FIND INCREASINGLY SCARCE LABORERS (HE HAVING TROUBLE FINDING 16 HE NEEDS NOW); AND WOULD OF COURSE REQUIRE AUGMENTING FACILITIES AND FLEET AT AIRPORT IF ADDITIONAL TONNAGE WERE SIGNIFICANT IN SCALE.

4. GONTARD ADMITTED HE HAD CAST ENVIOUS EYE ON LSM'S INTENDED FOR CROSS RIVER OPERATION AND LATER TURNED OVER TO NIGERIAN RC, BUT SAID HE DIDN'T KNOW THEIR CURRENT STATUS OF WHETHER OTHERS OBTAINABLE.

5. IN CONNECTION PRESENT AIRLIFT FLEET, GONTARD SAID HE EXPERIENCING CONSIDERABLE TROUBLE WITH AIR FRET. SAID HE HAD REQUESTED THIRD DC-4, BUT FINALLY BEEN TOLD HE WOULD GET IT, BUT THEN LEARNED THAT ONE OF PRESENT TWO WILL THEN HAVE TO BE WITHDRAWN FOR SERVICING. MOREOVER, COMPLAINED THAT AIR FRET CREWS ARE EXHAUSTED AND CYNICAL. COMPLAINED THAT GAULLIST AIR FRET DIRECTOR'S CLOSE RELATIONS WITH GOF PRECLUDED IMPROVEMENTS IN SERVICE AND SAID THEY NOT RPT NOT ABOUT TO PROVIDE DC-6'S NEEDED TO DO JOB EFFICIENTLY.

6. ALSO MENTIONED THAT OPERATION AFRICA CONCERN NOW LOOSING ONE OF BIAS DC-6'S DUE INABILITY KEEP CARGO PIPELINE FULL. SAID RELIEF OPERATION COULD BE GIVEN QUICK SHOT IN ARM IF OAC SUPPLIES COULD SOMEHOW BE GUARANTEED AND FULL UTILIZATION THEIR SECOND DC-6 THUS ASSURED.

7. RE ORDER OF MALTA, GONTARD SAID ITS DC-3 BEING RETIRED BECAUSE IT NO LONGER AIR-WORTHY, AND HE SEEMED UNSURE IT WOULD BE REPLACED AT ALL. I MADE NO MENTION OF REPORTED ARRANGEMENTS FOR FOUR DC-6'S, BUT GONTARD SEEMED GENUINELY IGNORANT OF ANY SUCH PLANS.

8. I QUIZZED GONTARD ABOUT GABONESE RC IN GENERAL TERMS AND FOUND HE KNEW EVEN LESS OF THIS ORGANIZATION THAN WE HAVE IMPRESSION IT EXISTS MAINLY ON PAPER AND UNDERSTAND FONMIN AYOUNE IS ITS PRESIDENT. HENCE I CONCLUDE ITS "SPONSORSHIP" OF RELIEF PROGRAM WOULD INVOLVE NOTHING MORE OR LESS THAN BONGO'S OWN APPROVAL.

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |



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BUT THAT 100 PERCENT LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FROM OUTSIDE WOULD BE REQUIRED.

9. GONTARD REVEALED HE HAD RECENTLY SIGNED TRIAL AGREEMENT WITH BIAFRAN REP UGWU TO ASSIGN ONE FLIGHT EVERY TWO WEEKS TO SUPPLYING BIAFRAN RC, I.E. BIAFRAN TROOPS. IF SUCCESSFUL, THESE MAY BE INCREASED

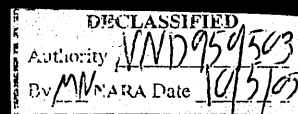
TO ONE PER WEEK. SUGGESTED THIS INTENDED TO RATIONALIZE HEAVY MILITARY

REQUISITIONING OF RELIEF SUPPLIES, NOT RPT NOT FOR WEAPONS SUPPORT.

10. WILL CONTINUE EXPLORING OTHER POSSIBILITIES AND FORWARD CONCLUSIONS ASAP.
CRIGLER

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ACTION: Amembassy LONDON

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE _____

L I M D I S

SUBJECT: Relief to Biafra

REF LONDON 10218^{4c}

1. Committee for Nigerian-Biafran Relief is the U.S. branch of the International Committee of Conscience. Members include former Vice President Humphrey, Mrs. Martin Luther King, and Lt. General William H. Tunner, Commander of 1948 Berlin airlift. Since June Dan Jacobs, formerly of the Hudson Institute, has had the Committee pushing the helicopter/aircraft carrier scheme as a means of getting relief into Biafra. The Committee's proposals have always been somewhat hazy and to date it has not accepted Department's invitation to have its representatives meet with U/CF for detailed logistical discussions regarding the plan. Jacobs has shown more ~~proclivity~~ ^{for} proclivity for publicizing plan in media and ~~for~~ using VIP names than for serious address to logistical problems.

166018

DRAFTED BY: *ms* DRAFTING DATE: 12-20-69 TEL. EXT.: 21185 APPROVED BY: *ms*
U/CF: JFoley: AF/SN: WHBrubeck: dal AF/SN - William H. Brubeck
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FORM 4-68 DS-322

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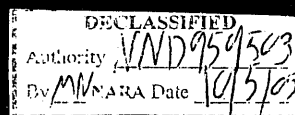
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| | <p>Although Committee has obtained Biafran agreement to plan in principle, so far as we know Committee has never directly sought FMG agreement to proposal.</p> <p>2. We unwilling to take public position before consulting with Committee, in order avoid appearance of prejudging. However, we have indicated we see difficult problems, which need discussing with sponsors. Our confidential view is that technical and political ^{insuperable.} difficulties probably insuperable. We consider that there are more efficient and feasible ways to transport relief if the FMG and Biafran leadership could agree to a formula for allowing relief into the enclave, and the use of helicopters and aircraft carriers does not seem to meet basic objections of two sides that have in the past blocked relief efforts.</p> <p>3. We gave British Embassy on highly confidential basis several weeks ago U.S. paper referred to para three reftel. In doing so, we stipulated paper was for internal confidential internal use of HMG only. We further stipulated any British use of data should</p> | | |
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ACTION:

sufficiently vary from our precise figures to avoid compromising our data. There should be no attribution of figures to USG sources though we agreed that British could state their understanding that U.S. analysis of magnitude of requirements roughly comparable to their own.

4. Would appreciate your recalling to FCO these reservations regarding use of data.

GP-3

END

[ROGERS]

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS

STATE:

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM BRUBECK

Dept. promises have visa ready for Charles by Dec. 22. He still plans depart Washington Dec. 27 and expects no problems.

End.

664012

[ROGERS]

(1)

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| DRAFTED BY: AF/SN RJWach:gw | DRAFTING DATE: 12/19/69 | TEL. EXT.: 23410 | APPROVED BY: AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck |
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By MW NARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10836 191916Z

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ACTION AID-28

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 RSR-01 RSC-01 /063 W
----- 069153

R 191606Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 466
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

UNCLAS LAGOS 10836

JOINT EMBASSY/USAID MESSAGE

SUBJECT: REHABILITATION - RECONSTRUCTION
ASSISTANCE PLANS FOR NIGERIA

REF: STATE 209066 *51*

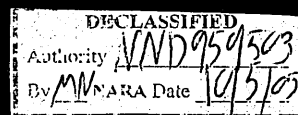
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INDICATE:
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ACTION: USMission GENEVA PRIORITY

STATE _____

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: C-97's

REF: (A) Geneva 4185, (B) State 193260, (C) State 195717,
(D) Cotonou 1143, (E) London 9493, (F) Geneva 3922,
(G) Geneva 4004

1. Would appreciate your calling on Freymond asap to make certain that two of four C-97's currently in Cotonou released will be ~~XXXXXX~~ for transfer to Sao Tome prior to December 31. Of the four C-97's at Cotonou, two are canna-flyable while two have had engines and other parts ~~XXXX~~ balized for JCA's C-97's on Sao Tome. Contrary to Ferguson-Freymond agreement, ICRC now wants to hold two flyable C-97's in Cotonou for possible daylight flights. FYI: Agreement worked out between Freymond-Ferguson and between U/CF staff and Schaedler (reftel A) calls for ~~XXXX~~ C-97's to leave Cotonou by end of this year. Two]

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:RADavidson

DRAFTING DATE: 12/19/69 TEL. EXT.: 29476

APPROVED BY: U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr.

CLEARANCES:
AF - VAD, Moore
XXX S/PC-CWRuser
AF/BN - Mr. Walker

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By: MN/ARA Date: 10/3/03



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ACTION: TO GENEVA

Page 2

are to fly to Sao Tome while two are to be positioned at
Tel Aviv where they would be (a) maintenance backup for
JCA aircraft, (b) training aircraft for Balair, (c) con-
tingency reserve (reftel A) should ICRC resume airlift.
(when made flyable)
As noted reftels, transfer of two aircraft to Tel Aviv/
and two to Sao Tome fortuitously facilitated by fact
Balair is agent for both ICRC and JCA. Memorandum of
conversation between Ferguson and Freymond being pouched.
END FYI.

END

[ROGERS]

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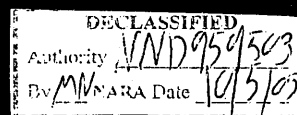
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Nigeria
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PAGE 01 LISBON 03005 201003Z

10
ACTION: AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13
SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 EC-02
E-15 RSR-01 DOT-12 /189 W

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R 191615Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3946
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMCONSUL CASABLANCA
AMCONSUL DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBEREVILLE
AMEMBASSY RABAT

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 3005

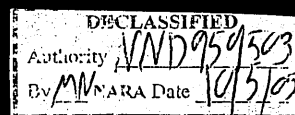
SUBJ: BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

REF: A. BAMAKO 1337
B. STATE 205152
C. DAKAR 3647

1. CROSSON CONTACTED EMBASSY DEC. 17 FOR PURPOSE CONFIRMING
REPORTS HE HAD RECEIVED OF BBC BROADCAST CLAIMING ALGERIAN AIRFORCE
HAD SHOT DOWN OVER ATLAS MOUNTAINS UNSPECIFIED AIRCRAFT MANNED
BY US PILOT AND SEVEN CREW MEMBERS. CROSSON BELIEVED REPORT
RELATED TO SN85H WHICH HE HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING LOCATE, BUT CLAIMED
IT MORE LIKELY AIRCRAFT FORCED DOWN THAN SHOT AT SINCE THERE
WERE NO REPORTS OF RADIO SIGNALS FROM AIRCRAFT UNDER ATTACK.
SN85H CARRIED CREW OF QTE THREE AMERICANS AND FOUR BIAFRANS.
UNQTE WHICH CROSSON SUGGESTS MAY BE IMPRISONED IN ALGERIA IF
HIS THEORY IS CORRECT. SINCE EMBASSY HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF ALLEGED
BBC REPORT, CROSSON SAID HE WOULD ATTEMPT CONFIRM REPORT BY

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PAGE 02 LISBON 03005 201003Z

OTHER MEANS AND DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE SECURE RELEASE OF THREE AMERICANS FOR WHOM HE QTE FEELS RESPONSIBLE AS FRIEND UNQTE.

2. CROSSON CLAIMED HE WORKS FOR BIAFRANS AS AGENT TO PROTECT THEM FROM QTE BEING TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF BY UNSCRUPULOUS PERSONS UNQTE IN PURCHASE OF SUPPLIES, HIRING OF PERSONNEL, AND LEASING OF AIRCRAFT. BULK OF SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT TO BIAFRANS, ACCORDING CROSSON, BEING FLOWN BY FRENCH PILOTS FROM LIBREVILLE WHERE DEPOTS SUPPLIED MORE ECONOMICALLY BY SHIP. AIRCRAFT DEPARTING PORTUGAL FOR BIAFRA, HE CLAIMED, NORMALLY CONTAIN SUITCASES WITH QTE HEAVY, UNKNOWN CONTENTS UNTE. GOP OFFICIALS, HE SAID, NOT INTERESTED IN AIRCRAFT CARGO. SCOPE OF OPERATIONS THROUGH PORTUGAL SEEMS SUBSTANTIAL, SINCE CROSSON CLAIMED BIAFRANS HAD OPENED BANK ACCOUNT IN LISBON IN HIS NAME WITHOUT HIS KNOWLEDGE WITH AVERAGE MONTHLY BALANCE RANGING BETWEEN 1 AND 3 MILLION DOLLARS.

3. CROSSON IN LISBON FREQUENTLY, USUALLY AT DIFFERENT ADDRESSES. HIS MANNER DOES NOT ELICIT CONFIDENCE IN HIS VERACITY, AND WE HAVE IMPRESSION HE FISHING FOR INFORMATION AND DOES NOT SERIOUSLY BELIEVE 5N85H IN ALGERIAN HANDS. KNIGHT

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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
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PAGE 01 LONDON 10218 191849Z

54
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCA-01 SCS-04
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01 UCF-05 RSR-01
/160 W

R 191700Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4864
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 10218

SUBJECT: RELIEF TO BIAFRA

1. FCO NIGERIAN RELIEF OFFICER BRYAN BARDER FURNISHED EMB-
OFF WITH COPIES OF TELEGRAMS TO SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME
FROM DAN JACOBS OF COMMITTEE FOR NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF,
210 E. 50TH ST., N.Y. GIST THESE MESSAGES IS JACOBS
ASSERTION THAT 12 S-65 HELICOPTERS COULD MOVE MORE THAN
400 TONS RELIEF SUPPLIES DAILY FLYING FROM THREE DECOMMISSIONED
US CARRIERS NOW AVAILABLE. JACOBS' MESSAGES SAY HE IS IN
CLOSE TOUCH WITH U/CF, AND THERE IS "FAVORABLE INTEREST
THERE." HE ASKED FOR PUBLIC SUPPORT FROM SIR ALEC AND TRANS-
MITTED A DEC. 12, PRESS RELEASE FROM HIS ORGANIZATION
CONCERNING PLANS FOR HELICOPTER-TRANSPORTED RELIEF.

2. FCO HAS NO KNOWLEDGE THIS ORGANIZATION AND WOULD APPRECIATE
OUR ASSESSMENT ITS BONAFIDES.

3. BARDER SAYS HELICOPTER DATA FCO WORKING WITH WAS SUPPLIED
BY PENTAGON ON PAPER DATED OCT. 30. HE SAYS FCO IS UNDER
PRESSURE TO MAKE SOME REPLY TO SIR ALEC'S
PROPOSAL FOR HELICOPTER-TRANSPORTED RELIEF AND THEY WILL GET
SOMETHING OUT SHORTLY.

4. LORD CARRINGTON ANNOUNCED ON HIS RETURN FROM NIGERIA/

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 LONDON 10218 191849Z

BIAFRA HE THOUGHT FREE DROP DELIVERY OF RELIEF SUPPLIES
FROM AIRCRAFT MIGHT HAVE MORE POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS. BARDER
SAYS MOST FAVORABLE MOD ESTIMATE OF DELIVERY CAPABILITY THIS
MEANS IS AN AD HOC DAILY DELIVERY OF 60 TONS AND POSSIBLE
350 TONS IN A ONE-WEEK PERIOD.
HUGHES

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| DECLASSIFIED | |
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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |



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POL 27-9 Biafra -
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Nigeria
18 Dec 69 23 29Z

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ACTION: Amembassy LISBON

INFO: Amembassy ABIDJAN
Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy LIBREVILLE

STATE

SUBJECT: US Aircraft and Citizens in Arms Lift

REF: A) Bamako 1350; B) Lisbon 2969; C) Lisbon 2970 (NOTAL)

1. Department is interested in movements and activities

US-registered aircraft and amcits in Biafra arms lift. In

addition, without creating new reporting dimension and considering
recent moves to curb volume of reporting, Dept also interested in
movement combat aircraft, arms, and ammo to Biafrans.

2. Dept aware need for discretion in making contacts and observing
activities and expects Embassy Lisbon use best judgment how far
it is advisable and desirable to go.

3. With respect instant case (reftels A and B), Dept and FAA
interested in establishing fate of N86525 and crew.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN: BAS tokes: 11

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12/18/69

TEL. EXT.

23468

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN: WHBrubeck

CLEARANCES:

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AV/P-WSDiedrich (in subst)

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Nigeria
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INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON,
USMISSION GENEVA
USEMBASSY THE HAGUE
Amembassy LAGOS

STATE:

NOFORN EXCEPT CANADIANS

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: Canadian Air Drop Proposal

1. Canadian Emboff has given us confidential fill-in on Head/Gowon conversation Lagos December 12 on Canadian air drop proposal. Previously discussed with ICRC Geneva, proposal contemplates Canadian military C-130s air-dropping relief supplies into Biafra from Nigerian base, with or without Biafran approval. was that to Gowon
2. Head's general impression/in explaining/outside world pressures and opinion re relief and Canadian domestic urgency show some movement on relief ~~was that~~ Gowon attitude relatively hardened against such considerations. Gowon appeared set on doing what ~~was~~ he regards as right and fatalistic about consequences in outside world.
3. Gowon's first reaction to presentation air drop proposal was that it full of "dangers and perils", e.g., risk of Biafran tail-gating

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN :WHBrubeck

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12/17/69

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APPROVED BY:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

U/CF - Amb. Ferguson

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS - Page 2

of returning relief planes for military purposes. Also concerned that ~~that~~ Canadian approach to Biafrans would simply lead to protracted new round futile negotiations with ~~Biafrans~~ Biafrans. Head indicated Canadians would present scheme to Biafrans but would not negotiate. He pointed out proposal is variant of ICRC daylight flight proposal, and whose would redound to international credit of FMG. Gowon expressed concern, meaning from obscure, that acceptance Federal scheme might detract/very recent Federal agreement with ICRC disavowing military violation of ICRC scheme.

4. Head felt Gowon grew more receptive to scheme as conversation progressed and saw attractions in program which constitutes in effect Nigerian feeding of Biafrans. He agreed consider proposition further. In subsequent conversation with Head on December 15, Extaff's ~~Extaff's~~ ^{Ehahoro} reflection said on ~~reflection~~ Gowon had decided include item on December 17 FEC agenda. Because of Gowon absence beginning of week and other factors, had subsequently decided postpone consideration ^{to} ~~later~~ later FEC meeting, perhaps December 20. Canadians seemed encouraged, feel their proposal has some prospect of acceptance.

End

[ROGERS]

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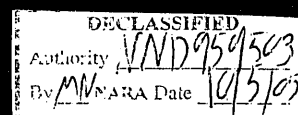
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ACTION: Amembassy OTTAWA
INFO: Amembassy LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
Amembassy THE HAGUE
Amembassy LAGOS

STATE: _____

NOFORN EXCEPT CANADIANS

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: Canadian Air Drop Proposal

REF : State 209337

POL 27-9 Biafra-nigeria
Canadian emboff Canadian
~~/Canada~~ informs us ~~/Canada~~ air drop

proposal was considered by FEC in Lagos yesterday.

FMG has informed Canadians it will give response
proposal
to ~~proposal~~ before Christmas.

B

END

[ROGERS]

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| DRAFTED BY: AF/SN: WHBrubeck:bjr | DRAFTING DATE 12/18/69 | TEL. EXT. 21185 | APPROVED BY: AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck <i>MB</i> |
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CLEARANCES:
U/CF - ~~xxxxxx~~ John W. Foley, Jr.

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04453 181051Z

20
ACTION: UCF-05

INFO: OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20

USIA-12 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 UPW-01

RSR-01 /154 W

059359

R 181040Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4014
INFO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 4453

REF: STATE 208727; NIAMEY 1561

1. UTILIZATION C-97'S DISCUSSED WITH ICRC (BASSET TODAY).

2. REFERRING TO ICRC'S REPORTED OFFER OF ONE C-97 TO PRESIDENT DIORI TO REPATRIATE NIGER REFUGEES, MISOFF REMINDED BASSET THAT IN ACCORDANCE ESTABLISHED AGREEMENT USG MUST BE CONSULTED IN ADVANCE IF C-97'S ARE TO BE EMPLOYED OUTSIDE NIGERIA/BIAFRA OPERATION. ALSO REMINDED BASSET THAT USG HAS NEVER IMPLIED THAT US MILITARY CREWS WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO FLY C-97'S.

3. BASSET WAS MOST APOLOGETIC THAT COMMITTEE HAD NOT CONSULTED USG IN ADVANCE. SAID MATTER HAD BEEN HANDLED BY SOME OF HIS OPERATIONAL PEOPLE WHO APPARENTLY HAD LOST SIGHT TERMS AGREEMENT. BASSET AGREED TO PROMPTLY CLARIFY MATTER WITH HIS COLLEAGUES. HE DID NOT HOWEVER SEIZE OPPORTUNITY TO SEEK USG APPROVAL UTILIZATION OF C-97 FOR THIS REFUGEE LIFT.
RIMESTAD

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Authority VND 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28
UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01 EUR-20
/154 W

R 181635Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4018
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4458

FOR U/CF

MISSION HAS LEARNED THAT WORKING GROUP OF SCANDINAVIAN RED CROSS
SOCIETIES AND ICRC WILL BE MEETING SHORTLY TO DISCUSS AIR BRIDGE,
FINANCES, AND OPERATIONAL STATUS AND FUTURE ROLE OF THEIR NATIONAL
SOCIETY ASSISTANCE TEAMS IN NIGERIA.
RIMESTAD

GENEVA-4458
12-18 69

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Pal 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 132

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17
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 UCF-05 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 IH-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 INSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

EUR-20 AID-28 MC-02 ACDA-18 RSR-01 /170 W
059658

R 180725Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3000
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

CONFIDENTIAL A L LIBREVILLE 1286

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN ARMS LIFT

REF: LIBREVILLE'S A-131 - *Pal 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria*

1. FOLLOWING EXCERPTED FROM OUR WEEKLY ROUND-UP OF
BIAFRAN AIRLIFT ACTIVITY, WHICH UNFORTUNATELY MISSED
THIS WEEKS POUCH:

2. TWO-WEEK INTERRUPTION IN ARMS LIFT ACTIVITY EVIDENTLY
ENDED. ON 10 DEC, EMBOFF OBSERVED SEVERAL HUNDRED
ASSORTED CRATES POSSIBLY CONTAINING ARMS/AMMO, TOGETHER
WITH ABOUT TEN LARGE STEEL CONTAINERS (5X4X6 FT) BEING
OFF-LOADED FROM SS VERA CRUZ. BY MORNING 13 DEC, SAME
CARGO OBSERVED BEING LOADED ABOARD SUSPECTED ARMS
CARRIER TR-LOK. LATTER AIRCRAFT HAS SUBSEQUENTLY FLOWN
NIGHTLY. GP-4.
CRIGLER

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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SECRET 141

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01288 181146Z

11
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01 SR-01

L-03 INR-07 DODE-00 SCA-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 RSR-01 /080 W

O R 181050Z DEC 69

FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 30019 *Biafra - Nigeria*
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

Pol 27-9
SECURITY LIBREVILLE 1288

REF STATE 208606

1. PER REFTEL, I RAISED WITH LTC QUINQUENEL THIS MORNING REPORT THAT ORDER OF MALTA PLANNING FOUR-PLANE RELIEF AIRLIFT FROM LIBREVILLE. QUINQUENEL, WHO IS NEW ON THE JOB BUT FRIENDLY AND FORTHRIGHT, SAID HE HAD HEARD OF NOTHING EXACTLY ALONG THESE LINES. WE CHECKED WITH STAFF AND CONFIRMED THAT NONE HAD, ALTHOUGH DEPUTY NOTED ORDER HOPES SOON REPLACES ITS PRESENT ANTIQUATED DC-3 WITH ONE RPT ONE DC-6 OR 7.

2. HOWEVER, QUINQUENEL SAID THAT A GERMAN NAMED KUHN HAD RECENTLY SUBMITTED PROPOSAL TO GABONESE GOVERNMENT AND FRC TO PLACE TWO RPT TWO NORD 2501 AIRCRAFT AT THEIR DISPOSAL FOR RELIEF RUN. FRC RESPONSE LUKEWARM IN VIEW AIRCRAFT'S LIMITED PAYLOAD CAPACITY, SATURATED CONDITIONS ON APRON, AND FRC EXPECTATION SOON OBTAIN THIRD DC-4 OF ITS OWN.

3. CONTINUING IN HYPOTHETICAL VEIN, I ASKED WHETHER NEW PROGRAM INVOLVING 50 OR MORE TONS ADDITIONAL CARGO PER DAY WOULD NOT STRAIN PRESENT FACILITIES. QUINQUENEL AGREED EMPHATICALLY IT WOULD, SAID THERE NO AVAILABLE STORAGE AT AIRPORT (FRC HAS JUST RENTED NEW DEPOT ON OTHER SIDE OF TOWN) AND BOTTLENECK AT DOCK GROWING WORSE. I ASKED WHETHER HANGAR NEARING COMPLETION AT AIRPORT MIGHT NOT BE USED, AND WHETHER CONSIDERATION EVER GIVEN TO USING LANDING CRAFT FOR PORT BY-PASS. HE SAID HE WOULD EXPLORE THESE AVENUES.

4. QUINQUENEL IMPLIED HE WOULD ALSO QUERY ORDER OF MALTA

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*Libreville 1288
12-18-69*

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 LIBREV 01288 181146Z

REPRESENTATIVE ON REPORTED PROGRAM. BELIEVE
IT BEST HE DO. SO RATHER THEN WE. I INTEND EXPLORE HANGAR AND
LANDING CRAFT AVAILABILITY INDEPENDENTLY. GP-4 CRIGLER

SECRET

0721

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| DECLASSIFIED | |
| Authority | VND959503 |
| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |



Pol 27-9 Biafra/Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 423

PAGE 01 OTTAWA 01925 172237Z

83
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 E-15
RSR-01 /175 W

056251

R 172005Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5606
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

SECRET OTTAWA 1925

NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: (A) STATE 204654 (B) LAGOS 10759

1. CANEMB WASHINGTON WILL BRIEF DEPT ON IVAN HEAD VISIT LAGOS ACCORDING EXTAFF AFRICA SECTION CHIEF, HARMAN, WHO ACCOMPANIED HEAD. HARMAN (RELEASE PROTECT) COMMENTED ONLY THAT IVAN HEAD HAD BEEN WELL RECEIVED, THAT PROPOSAL FOR FOOD DROP HAD BEEN DISCUSSED WITH GOWAN, AND CANADIANS EXPECTED RESPONSE IN DUE COURSE. HE ADDED THAT GOC STILL PREFERS TO KEEP NIGERIA/BIAFRA SUBJECT MATTER IN ALREADY WELL-ESTABLISHED GOC-USG CHANNELS.

2. IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST FOR INFORMATION RE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER FORCE (REFTEL A), HARMAN SAID TERMS OF REFERENCE ORIGINALLY WORKED OUT IN 1968 HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY ALTERED BY PRACTICES WORKED OUT IN OPERATIONS SINCE THEN. DESCRIPTION OF THESE OPERATING PROCEDURES WILL REQUIRE PREPARATION OF SPECIAL PAPER WHICH HE PROMISED IN ABOUT ONE WEEK. GP-3.

SCHMIDT

SECRET
51

*Ottawa 1925
12/17/69*

0722

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

21



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 601

PAGE 01 LISBON 02970 170745Z

22 11
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 EUR-12 NSC-10 NSCE-00 INR-06 CIAE-00

RSC-01 RSR-01 /056 W 051921

R 170705Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3939

SECRET LISBON 2970

LIMDIS

REF: LISBON 2969 *Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria*

RE REFTEL I HAVE GATHERED IMPRESSION FROM VARIOUS ELEMENTS
OF MISSION THAT CONTACTS AND REPORTING ON BIAFRAN ARMS
AIRLIFT AND RELATED PERSONNEL AND THEIR ACTIVITIES HAVE
BEEN DISCOURAGED. IF INCORRECT, WOULD APPRECIATE INSTRUCTIONS.
KNIGHT

12-17-69
2970
Lisbon

SECRET

0723

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Authority *VND 959503*
By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/05*

(21)



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 550

PAGE 01 LISBON 02969 170808Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 UCF-05 IO-13 AID-28 INR-07 RSR-01 RSC-01

/094 W

052037

P R 170700Z DEC 69

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3938

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMCONSUL CASABLANCA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 2969

REF: BAMAKO 1350

Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

BAMAKO FOR LEGALLO

JACK CROSSON CURRENTLY IN LISBON AT APARTMENT 1E, RUA
SANTO DOMINGO DE BENFICA NO 11.
KNIGHT

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| DECLASSIFIED | |
| Authority | VND 954503 |
| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |



POH 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 906

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10759 171422Z

47
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01

/160 W

053829

R 171020Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 422
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 10759

NOFORN

SUBJECT: CANADIAN FOOD DROP PROPOSAL

1. CANADIAN COUNSELOR (PROTECT) TOLD EMBOFF DECEMBER 16 THAT IVAN HEAD, PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF CANADIAN PM TRUDEAU, RECENTLY DEPARTED LAGOS AFTER EXPLORING POSSIBILITY FMG AGREEMENT TO RCAF AIR DROPPING FOOD SUPPLIES WITHIN REBEL ENCLAVE. IN COURSE OF VISIT, HEAD HAD ONE-HOUR TALK WITH GOWON.

2. CANADIANS RELUCTANT DISCUSS DETAILS OF HEAD VISIT (AT LEAST PARTIALLY BECAUSE OF THEIR SKEPTICISM THAT PLAN CAN ACCOMPLISH MUCH), BUT COUNSELOR SAID MATTER WAS LEFT WITH CANADIANS UNDERTAKING TO PROVIDE MORE DETAILS IN RESPONSE FMG QUESTIONS. HE INTIMATED CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSION WERE WERE RELIEVED PROPOSAL DID NOT MEET WITH FLAT NEGATIVE AND WERE EVEN SLIGHTLY ENCOURAGED, "IN VIEW OF VERY MODEST EXPECTATIONS" WHICH COUNSELOR SAID THEY HAD FOR PROJECT. GP-3

TRUEHEART

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0725

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/3/05



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INDICATE:

☐ COLLECT☐ CHARGE TO

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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LIBREVILLE

IMMEDIATE

INFO: USMission GENEVA

STATE _____

REF: (a) State 206024; (b) Libreville 1279

1. Understand USG "curiosity" may be exposed when inquiries reftels are made. Since we are interested in verifying possible agreement between President Bongo and Order of Malta it will be necessary to take risk of exposure.
2. Since Reftel A, we have information Bongo gave Order of Malta permission to position four aircraft at Libreville. If this is true, we need detailed estimates logistic augmentation required to accommodate 4 plane addition to relief lift. We will obtain PSP requirements/availability here. Request you explore availability and capacity of hangar ~~XXXXXX~~

DRAFTED BY:

U/CF:RADavidson *RD*

DRAFTING DATE

12/16/69

TEL. EXT.

22033

APPROVED BY:

U/CF:Ambassador Ferguson *CF*

CLEARANCES:

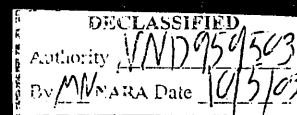
U/CF - Mr. Dewey *D*AF/SN - *B. A. Stokes*
Mr. Sherry

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

0726





INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification
Department of State
TELEGRAM

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Page 2 of Amembassy LABREVILLE

for storage, labor availability, and possible access to locally available landing craft for port by-pass.

3. Also concerning possible increased airlift from Libreville, we would like to know whether Gabonese Red Cross would be capable and willing to sponsor airlift from Libreville to Biafra.

FYI. Sponsorship would be similar to Knights of Malta; sponsor would be responsible for flying relief supplies into Biafra for subsequent distribution by other relief organizations, e.g., ICRC.

END.

[ROGERS]

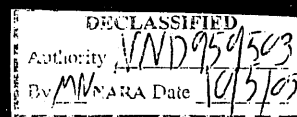
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FORM DS-322
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INDICATE:
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TELEGRAM

POL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
 208727

17 DEC 69 19 29Z

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ACTION: US Mission GENEVA
 INFO: Amembassy Niamey

STATE _____

REF: (1) State 207839; (2) ~~NIAMEY~~ ^{NIAMEY} 1561

Dept concerned from ref (2)

1. ~~Refers to C-97's~~ that ICRC may not understand

fully ~~their~~ ^{its use} limitation for ~~use of~~ C-97's. ICRC
 should be advised that agreement use of C-97's in-
 cludes understanding USG must be consulted in advance
 if C-97's are to be employed outside Nigeria/Biafra
 program.

2. At no time did USG ~~mean~~ imply military crews
 would be used to fly C-97's.

END.

ROGERS

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|---|
| DRAFTED BY: U/CF:RADavidson | DRAFTING DATE 12/16/69 | TEL. EXT. 22033 | APPROVED BY: U/CF: John W. Felt ^{CF} |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|---|

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN: BASTokes

AID/AFR/CWA: WHaven North

AF/W: RReed

Ambassador Fergusn

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FORM DS-322
 4-68

0728

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 Authority VIND 959503
 By MN/ARA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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A-131

CONFIDENTIAL

TO : Department of State

INFO : USMission GENEVA

FROM : Amembassy LIBREVILLE

DATE: December 16, 1969

SUBJECT : Biafran Airlift - Week of December 8 through 14

REF : SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

Suspected arms flights were resumed at the end of last week, after fifteen days of apparent inactivity: DC-7 TR-LOK flew nights of December 13 and 14 (2 flights).

The following presumed relief flights occurred during the period December 8 - 14:

- A. DC-4 F-BRHE nightly December 8 through 14 (7 flights)
- B. DC-4 F-BRAP nights of December 8, 12, 13, and 14 (4 flights)
- C. DC-6 OO-GER nightly December 8 through 14 (7 flights)
- D. DC-6 OO-HEX nightly December 8 through 14 (7 flights)

Remarks:

A. The two-week interruption in arms lift activity evidently has ended. On December 10, an Embassy officer observed several hundred assorted heavy crates possibly containing arms and ammunition, together with about ten large steel containers measuring approximately 5' by 4' by 6', being off-loaded at the port from the steamship "Vera Cruz". These were then transported directly to the military area of the airport in a succession of army trucks. By the morning of December 13, the same cargo was observed being loaded aboard suspected arms carrier TR-LOK. This latter aircraft has subsequently flown nightly.

B. Suspected sometime arms carrier DC-7, "oblit.", not observed here since October 29, arrived before dawn December 12 and parked in the civilian area of the airport. It had departed by the evening of the same day and has not returned.

FORM 4-62 DS-323

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Drafted by:

Contents and Classification Approved by:

Clearances:

TECrigler/CONS. DeFields

TECrigler, Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

1969 DEC 31 AM 11 04

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 By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

- C. International Red Cross C-97's with Swiss registration numbers began arriving during daylight hours on December 11 and discharged cargo in the civilian area (see Libreville 1258). None remained here overnight and their daylight flights schedule precluded accurate score-keeping by Embassy observers.
- D. A reliable source from among the diplomatic community reported to us on December 15 that he had personally observed crates appearing to contain heavy weapons loaded aboard one of the BIAS DC-6's currently flying relief runs under charter to Operation Africa Concern. We have no corroborating evidence that such activity has taken place.
- E. No MFI-9B "minicons" were observed on the airstrip during the reporting period.

Erratum: Paragraph 2-D of last week's airlift summary (A-127) incorrectly showed OO-HEX as having flown relief runs on December 3, 6, and 7. The aircraft which made those runs was in fact its twin, OO-GER.

Resume:

- A. Week of November 24: 3 arms flights, 19 relief flights
B. Week of December 1 : 0 arms flights, 20 relief flights
C. Week of December 8 : 2 arms flights, 25 relief flights

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| Authority | VND 954503 |
| By | MV NARA Date 10/3/05 |

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28

E-15 RSR-01 /175 W

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R 161231Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 406
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10726

REF: LAGOS 10711

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF - HELICOPTERS

FOURTH SENTENCE PARA ONE SHOULD READ "THE IDEA OF ALLOWING
ANOTHER COUNTRY'S" RATHER THAN "THE IDEA OF FOLLOWING
ANOTHER COUNTRY'S".
TRUEHEART

12-16-69
10726

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10711 161058Z

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ACTION: AF-18

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01
PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28
E-15 RSR-01 /175 W

R 160926Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 396
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

045940

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 10711

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - HELICOPTERS

1. UK HIGH COMMISSION INFORMS US: LORD CARRINGTON DISCUSSED HELICOPTER SCHEME (ADVANCED BY DOUGLAS HOME IN PARLIAMENT) WITH COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ARIKPO DECEMBER 12 BUT GOT NOWHERE. ARIKPO MERELY SAID FMG WAS NOT PREPARED TO ENTERTAIN IDEA. DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSSED QUESTION WITH ENAHORO (EXTAFF) WHO TOOK LINE INITIALLY THAT FMG WAS ENTITLED TO REJECT OUT OF HAND AN IDEA WHICH WAS SO OBVIOUSLY A NON-STARTER. HE DESCRIBED AS UNTHINKABLE THE IDEA OF FOLLOWING ANOTHER COUNTRY'S MILITARY AIRCRAFT AND PERSONNEL TO FLY RELIEF TO THE REBELS OVER NIGERIAN TERRITORY OR TO AIR DROP SUPPLIES TO THEM. NIGERIAN OPINION, HE SAID, COULD NOT POSSIBLY ACCEPT SUCH AN AFFRONT TO NIGERIAN SOVEREIGNTY AND IF GOWON AGREED TO IT QUOTE HE WOULD NOT LAST FOR 24 HOURS UNQUOTE.
GP-4
TRUEHEART

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By MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10862 151730Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 SCS-04
SCA-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UCF-05 RSR-01
/160 W

12-15-69
10862

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R 151540Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 378
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 10862

SUBJECT: DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS

REF: LAGOS 10588

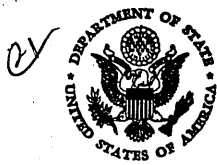
1. BIGNAMI SAW CHIEF ENAHORO DECEMBER 13 FOR FIRST TIME SINCE LATTER'S RETURN FROM HOSPITALIZATION IN UK. BIGNAMI EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR FMG STATEMENT ON ARTICLE 6(2) OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT AND INFORMED ENAHORO THAT ICRC NOW RAISING DAYLIGHT FLIGHT ISSUE AGAIN WITH BIAFRANS. NOTED THAT IF BIAFRANS STILL REJECTED DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, ICRC INTENDED PROPOSE AIR DROP. ENAHORO SAID FMG WISHED TO PUSH DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST WOULD NOT AUTHORIZE EMERGENCY NIGHT FLIGHTS. ENAHORO ASKED FOR A FEW DAYS TO TALK WITHIN GOVERNMENT ABOUT AIR DROP IDEA AND PROMISED TO HAVE FURTHER COMMENTS ON PROPOSAL BY MIDDLE OF THIS WEEK. HOWEVER, ENAHORO HAS NOW RETURNED TO UK TO SEE HIS DOCTOR AND IS NOT EXPECTED BACK BEFORE END OF THE WEEK. GP-4.
TRUEHEART

(1)

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 BAMA KO 01350 151734Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01

ORM-03 AID-28 ACDA-18 MC-02 E-15 DOT-12 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 NSA-02 RSR-01 /209 W
----- 041351

R 151640Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY BAMA KO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2748
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMCONSUL CASABLANCA

CONFIDENTIAL A L BAMA KO 1350

BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

REFS: A. BAMA KO 1337 *POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria*
B. STATE 205152
C. LIBREVILLE 1273 NOTAL

1. EMBASSY TRIED CONTACT CROSSON 12 DECEMBER SINCE HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID PLANNED LEAVE FOR ABIDJAN ON 13 DECEMBER. HOWEVER, ALL BAMA KO HOTELS, INCLUDING "GRAND HOTEL" WHERE CROSSON HAD SAID WAS STAYING, CLAIMED NO CROSSON REGISTERED IN LAST WEEK. THEREFORE ASSUME CROSSON DEPARTED. ONLY EMBASSY CONTACT WAS REF A.

2. MALIAN CIVIL AVIATION AUTHORITIES HAVE TURNED UP NOTHING.

3. WISH REPEAT PLANE REGISTRATION NUMBER AS REF C INDICATES OUR REF A MIGHT HAVE BEEN RECEIVED GARBLED. NUMBER IS 5N85H RPT 5N85H.
CLARK

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23

0734

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VNP 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Pal 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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SECRET 543

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01279 131202Z

21 12:
ACTION UCF-01

INFO: OCT-01 SS-20 SR-01 PM-03 AF-05 INR-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 L-02 RSR-01 RSC-01 /051 W
..... 034036

R 130915Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2997
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

S E I C R E T LIBREVILLE 1279

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: MALTESE RELIEF FOR BIAFRA

REF: STATE 206024

1. REFTEL POSES PROBLEMS FOR US. FACTS OF LIFE HERE ARE SUCH THAT THERE VIRTUALLY NO WAY WE CAN "VERIFY" WHETHER ORDER OF MALTA HAS BONGO'S PERMISSION UNDERTAKE DESCRIBED RELIEF PROGRAM, NOR OBTAIN TECHNICAL DATA REQUESTED PARA TWO, "WITHOUT EXPOSING USG INTEREST".

2. TO DATE WE HAVE HAD NO HINT THAT SUCH PROGRAM UNDER CONSIDERATION. FRENCH AMBASSADOR, WITH WHOM I DISCUSSED BIAFRAN QUESTION IN GENERAL TERMS PRIOR RECEIPT REFTEL FRIDAY MORNING, SAID NOTHING SUGGESTING ANY NEW RELIEF DEVELOPMENTS. YET EITHER DELAUNEY OR LT. QUINQUENEL (MERLE'S REPLACEMENT) WOULD NO DOUBT BE ABLE AND WILLING "VERIFY" FOR US IF WE WERE FREE ADMIT CURIOSITY.

3. KINDLY DEFINE OUR "EXPOSURE" LIMITATIONS MORE CLEARLY-- AND, IF POSSIBLE, SHED SOME LIGHT ON OUR INTERESTS IN TECHNICAL DETAILS.

① 4. FOR WHAT THEY WORTH, OUR OWN REACTIONS TO POINTS RAISED PARA TWO FOLLOW:

A. NO IDEA WHAT MATERIALS REQUIRED FOR ADDITIONAL PARKING BEYOND WHAT ALREADY DISCUSSED WITH RSM; HOWEVER, CIVILIAN AREA AS JAMMED AS EVER, AND ENLARGEMENT DEFINITELY REQUIRED.

SECRET
3

*Libreville 1279
12-13-69*

Pal 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

0735

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Authority VVND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01279 131202Z

TO ACCOMMODATE OPERATION ON SCALE ENVISAGED.

B. WAREHOUSING PROBABLY AVAILABLE IN TOWN; THERE NONE PRESENTLY FREE AT AIRPORT, BUT ONE HANGER NEARING COMPLETION CONCEIVABLY COULD BE USED THIS PURPOSE TEMPORARILY.

C. AUGMENTATION PORT FACILITIES FORMALTA PROGRAM ALMOST INCONCEIVABLE ALTHOUGH THEY PRESENTLY STRAINED TO CAPACITY AND SERVICE SLOWED BY LABOR TROUBLES; ANY EXPANSION WOULD NECESSARILY INVOLVE COSTLY EXTENSION OF PIER AREA.

5. ORDER OF MALTA DC-3, WHICH DOES NOT APPEAR MAKE REGULAR FLIGHTS INTO ENCLAVE AND THEREFORE NOT INCLUDED OUR TALLIES, STILL SITTING IN CIVILIAN AREA OF AIRPORT. GP-3 CRIGLER

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| DECLASSIFIED | |
| Authority | VND 959503 |
| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |

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POL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
 206463

07-A

12 DEC 69 18 45Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy BAMAKO

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Biafran Relief Plane Reported Down

REF: ~~XX~~ (A) State 205175, (B) Bamako 1339

U/CF RSM Team Diary indicates constellation N86525

RPT N86525 seen refueling Saturday, October 4, 1969

RPT Saturday, October 4, 1969 on Portuguese Island

Sao Tome, SWA.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

U/CF:GThomas

DRAFTING DATE
12/12/69TEL. EXT.
29476

APPROVED BY:

U/CF:JWFoley, Jr.

CLEARANCES:

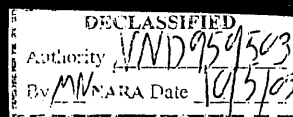
AF/SN - Mr. Stokes

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FORM DS-322
 4-68

0737





POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 113

PAGE 01 BAMAKO 01339 121151Z

17
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
IO-13 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 UPW-01 (RSR-010)
/154 W

R 121117Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2742

027678

C O N F I D E N T I A L BAMAKO 1339

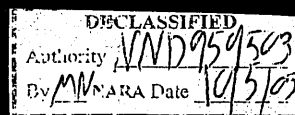
SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

REF: STATE 205175

PLEASE CONFIRM REF DATE WHICH RECEIVED "OCTOBER 4, 1969."
CLARK

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04298 021731Z

40
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 AF-12 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01 ORM-03 SR-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 P-03 RSC-01 USIA-12

PRS-01 HEW-08 RSR-01 /101 W

100857

P 021729Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3875

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4298

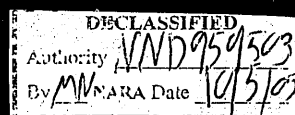
STATE FOR SHISKIN FROM DAVIDSON (U/CF)

SUBJECT: MEASLES VACCINE

1. DR. GRASSET CALLED TO FIND OUT RESPONSE TO LETTER WHICH AMB. FERGUSON HAND CARRIED. THE THREE FOLLOWING POINTS MOST IMPORTANT (A) BEFORE DR. HOMS LEAVES FOR BIAFRA HE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT EXTENT CAN AID ASSIST TB DIAGNOSES AND TREATMENT PROGRAM; (B) AS MEASLES VACCINE DETERIORATING CAN ICRC FROM FUNDS RECEIVED FROM USAID BY FRESH VACCINE; (C) DR. GRASSET WOULD LIKE TO HAVE OPINION FROM DRS. MILLER AND CURTIS IF MEASLES AND BCG BE GIVEN AT SAME TIME.
RIMESTAD

① LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 22

0739



GENEVA - 4298
18-12-69



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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
205989
45 B

11 DEC 69 22 32Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMission GENEVA

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Activities Re Nigeria/Biafra a n. ~

REF: Geneva 4312 and 4311 p u

Mission requested to info Lagos on all substantive messages concerning Nigeria/Biafra.

END

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686508

[ROGERS]

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|----------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:BAStokes:11 | DRAFTING DATE 12/11/69 | TEL. EXT. 23468 | APPROVED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck |
| CLEARANCE: U/CF:JWFoley | | | |

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FORM 4-68 DS-322

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Authority VND 950503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



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Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
206024

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11 Dec 69 22 41Z

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ACTION: Amembassy LIBREVILLE

INFO: USMission GENEVA

STATE _____

LIMDIS

1. We learned Order of Malta received permission from Bongo for four relief flights per night from Libreville using DC-6s of Icelandic company Frachtflug. Request verification without exposing USG interest.
2. Consultation with Merle should determine requirements for additional parking (including bill of materials for PSP), warehousing (e.g., is hangar available for storage?), and augmentation port facilities to accommodate an additional 52 ~~XXXX~~ tons daily. Assume Order of Malta would withdraw its DC-3.

END

ROGERS

| | | | |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------|---|
| DRAFTED BY: U/CF:RADavidson <i>AD</i> | DRAFTING DATE 12/11/69 | TEL. EXT. 22033 | APPROVED BY: <i>CF</i> U/CF:Ambassador Ferguson |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------|---|

CLEARANCES: *Helen Wilson*
AFR/CWA - *Haven North* (AID) *HW*
U/CF - Mr. *Bewey*

~~XXXXXX~~ AF/C - Mr. Sullivan

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FORM FS-413
4-68

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority *VND 950503*
By *MN* NARA Date *10/5/05*



Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 732

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01273 111227Z

22

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01
ORM-03 IO-13 SCS-04 SCA-01 E-15 DOT-12 UCF-05 UPW-01
AID-28 RSR-01 /187 W

R 111140Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2996
INFO AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY LISBON

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1273

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

REF: A) DAKAR 3647; B) BAMAKO 1337; C) STATE 205152

1. AS NOTED AT THE TIME IN LIBREVILLE'S 1126, CROSSON PLANE N-86525 WAS OBSERVED HERE OCTOBER 26-27 UNLOADING WHAT APPEARED TO BE BAGO OF COCOA BEANS--A RELIABLE INDICATOR OF HAVING ARRIVED FROM BIAFRA. PAINT JOB WAS WHITE, WITH RED STRIPES (THREE?) RUNNING LENGTH OF FUSELAGE SIDES INTO INDIAN HEAD DESIGN JUST BELOW COCKPIT WINDOW. NO PLANE FITTING EXACTLY THIS DESCRIPTION SEEN HERE SINCE.

2. EXTRA FILLIP IN BAMAKO REFTEL, HOWEVER, ADDING REGISTRATION NUMBER CHANGE TO CROSSON'S STORY. LEADS US TO WONDER WHETHER ALL THIS MAY NOT RPT NOT TIE IN TO MYSTERIOUS COMINGS AND GOING OF VERY SIMILAR AIRCRAFT REPORTED IN OUR WEEKLY AIRLIFT ROUND-UPS. NOTE. FOR EXAMPLE:

A. CROSSON PLANE'S REVISED REG. NO., 5N85N STRIKINGLY CLOSE TO WHAT APPEARS TO BE 5N86H PAINTED ON LATTER CONSTELLATION;

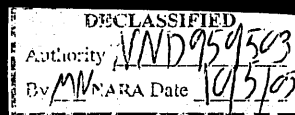
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*Libreville 1273
12-11-69*

Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

0742





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01273 111227Z

- B. LATTER'S PAINT JOB ALMOST IDENTICAL TO N-86525, EXCEPT THAT DESIGN UNDER COCKPIT (INDIAN HEAD?) HAS BEEN PAINTED OUT;
 - C. MYSTERY PLANE 5N86H BEGAN SHOWING UP HERE NOVEMBER 21, ONE WEEK BEFORE ALLEGED DISAPPEARANCE CROSSON PLANE;
 - D. LIKE CROSSON PLANE, OUR 5N86H FLOWN BY ENGLISH-SPEAKING CREW, ALMOST CERTAINLY AMERICAN; AND
 - E. OUR CONSTELLATION OBSERVED ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION LOADING HEAVY CRATES WHICH PROBABLY CONTAINED ARMS.
3. ACTIVITY HERE OF 5N86H ERRATIC; IT'S VISITS (OF WHICH SIX RECORDED TO DATE) OCCUR AT THREE OR FOUR-DAY INTERVALS. HOWEVER, IT NOT RPT NOT OBSERVED SINCE DECEMBER 5.
4. TWO POSSIBILITIES OCCUR TO US: (1) THAT OUR MYSTERY PLANE IS IN FACT CROSSON'S N86525/5N85N WITH SLIGHTLY MODIFIED PAINT JOB AND THAT FOR SOME REASON--POSSIBLY TO DECEIVE AMERICAN SELLORS NOT YET PAID IN FULL--EFFORT BEING MADE FALSELY PORTRAY AIRCRAFT AS LOST; OR MERELY THAT (2) OUR 5N86H IS SISTER PLANE TO CROSSON'S AND IS NOW OFF ON SEARCH AND RESCUE MISSION FOR LATTER. CRIGLER

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| Authority | VND 954503 |
| By | MW NARA Date 10/3/05 |

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04380 111035Z

21

ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20

USIA-12 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 UPW-01

RSR-01 /154 W

020752

R 111020Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3947
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4380

FOR U/CF

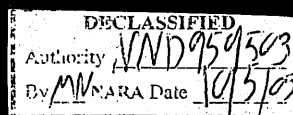
SUBJECT: NIGERIA - RELIEF DEVELOPMENTS.

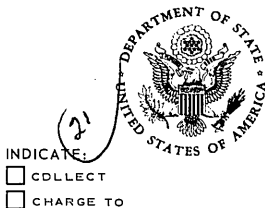
1. ICRC INFORMS THAT ON BASIS FMG'S STATEMENT DECEMBER 9 PROVIDING ASSURANCES THAT IT WILL NOT VIOLATE MILITARILY PROPOSED ICRC PROGRAM FOR DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS INTO BIAFRA ENCLAVE, COMMITTEE INTENDS DISPATCH TODAY TELEGRAM TO OJUKWU APPEALING TO HIM TO ACCEPT THIS ASSURANCE AS MEETING BIAFRA'S SECURITY CONCERN AND THUS PERMIT ICRC TO PROMPTLY INITIATE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS ORDER MEET NEEDS OF NIGERIAN WAR VICTIMS ON BIAFRAN SIDE.

2. ICRC ALSO CONSIDERING SENDING HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION TO BIAFRA TO PURSUE THIS MATTER.
RIMESTAD

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Classification NTIAL *POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria*
Department of State
TELEGRAM
205988
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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy BONN

STATE

SUBJECT: Von Gemmingen Visit to Biafra

REF: A) Bonn 15681; B) State 204514

Embassy requested use occasion of contact with Von Gemmingen for purpose refuels to debrief him with regard his observations and impressions during stay in Biafra. Embassy may refer to ^{VG's} ~~ex~~ earlier conversation with Brubeck and VG's offer inform us on his trip. Dept interested in VG's assessment morale, discipline and ability Biafrans to carry on fight, indications of trends in support for Ojukwu, interest in negotiating with FMG, willingness to compromise on political settlement and signs of change in basic demands. Also interested in any information on relations and attitudes within leadership group.

Gp-4

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN: BAS tokes: 11 *SSutterlin*
DRAFTING DATE: 12/11/69 TEL. EXT. 23468 APPROVED BY: AF/SN: WHBrubeck *m/b*
CLEARANCES: EUR/GER: *SSutterlin*
2, 3, 4

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4-68

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Authority *VND 959503*
By *MW* NARA Date *10/3/05*

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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TELEGRAM

205426

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10 DEC 69 23 34Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
 INFO: Amembassy THE HAGUE
 " LONDON
 " PARIS
 US MISSION GENEVA
 USUN
 Amconsul IBADAN
 Amconsul KADUNA

STATE: _____

REF : State 205176

1. Embassy should bring to attention Arikpo,
 or appropriate official if he unavailable, Department
 statement (reftel) issued December 10 in support of
 FMG December 9 press release on daylight flights.

2. In conveying statement, Embassy ~~is~~ should
 emphasize to Arikpo our gratification at this
 statesman-like initiative on part of FMG and ~~we~~ our
 hope it could lead to initiation daylight airlift.

END

[ROGERS]

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:GBSherry:bjr

DRAFTING DATE

12/10/69

TEL. EXT.

23321

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN - WHBrubeck

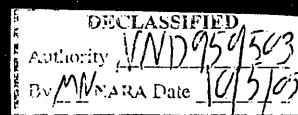
CLEARANCES:

U/CF - JW Foley (in draft)

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 Classification

FORM DS-322
 4-68

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State
TELEGRAM

205152

INDICATE:
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10 DEC 69 21 27Z

205152

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy BAMAKO

INFO : Amembassy ABIDJAN
Amconsul CASABLANCA
Amembassy DAKAR
Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy LIBREVILLE
Amembassy LISBON
Amembassy RABAT

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Biafran Relief Plane Reported Down

REF: Dakar 3647

1. US registered Constellation N-86525 and operator Jack Crosson have been subjects of numerous reports of operations in military supply and personnel lift to Biafra from Portugal.
2. Dept/FAA desire be kept informed of activities and movements of Crosson and whereabouts and fate of US registered plane and its crew.

END

[ROGERS]

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|---|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:BAStokes:11 | DRAFTING DATE 12/10/69 | TEL. EXT. 23468 | APPROVED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck |
| CLEARANCES: AF/W:LEKahn (in subst) <i>1305</i> FAA/IA:JSchafer (in subst) <i>1305</i> | | | |
| AF AV/P:WSDiedrich (in subst) <i>1305</i> | | | |

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Authority VMD 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



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S/S 19176

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RS/R FILES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20530

Attention Mrs. M. M. M. M.
Keep this study together.
NA

December 10, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Relief Survey Mission to
Biafra, October 17 -28

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum
prepared for the Under Secretary.

for Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

As stated.

①

MICROFILMED
BY S/S: CMS

File 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

0748

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By M. NARA Date 10/3/03



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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December 9, 1969

SUBJECT: Relief Survey Mission to Biafra, October 17-28,
INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

The recent U/CF Biafra Relief Survey Mission had two major results: (1) the U/CF team was able to document trends by comparing current data with that obtained on the earlier visits last spring; and (2) to obtain, for the first time, firm data on the size and condition of the civilian population in Biafra. We conclude that the overall nutritional condition of the people has deteriorated seriously since June. The population of Biafra is approximately 3.2 million, considerably lower than the figures commonly quoted by the relief agencies, Biafran authorities, or the world press. Public release of either of these conclusions will undoubtedly have serious political repercussions.

Disparity in Conditions

The survey team was struck by the enormous difference between the welfare of people living near main arteries and those in the remote areas. Prolonged rains have made some villages virtually inaccessible to relief teams, while duplication in relief distribution has given some people more than they need. Unevenness was also found between different age groups. Although severe malnutrition is prevalent in all parts of the population,

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| Authority | VND 959503 |
| By | MV NARA Date 10/3/05 |

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it is far more widespread among persons over 45 (52% incidence of edema) and under four (42%) than it is among young adults (17%).

Attitudes

While no attempt was made to measure popular morale on a scientific basis, the U/CF team gained a distinct impression of war weariness and tedium among "the little people." Relative stabilization of the lines and more discriminating Nigerian air strikes have tempered immediate fears, while nutritional deterioration in the bush areas has caused listlessness and despair. Protestations of strong grass roots support for the Biafran leaders are still heard, but sound less enthusiastic and more defensive than in the past.

The leaders, for their part, appear, in effect, to have amortized their own people. Having paradoxically written off the population as the price for "Biafran security", they appear to harden their position on relief proposals proportionately as the health conditions deteriorate.

The weakening of the popular will is reflected in the lessening of discipline, especially within the army. The survey team observed an increased rate of food pilferage and commandeering of relief vehicles by soldiers, as well as black market transactions for personal gain.

The distinction between soldiers and civilians in determining eligibility for relief assistance has become increasingly hazy. Suffering soldiers are given food and medical attention by the relief agencies, and the general population is viewed as a potential army as the circle around the enclave draws tighter.

Population

The 3.2 million population figure is based on a sampling technique which utilized our record of the total number of vaccinations given during last spring's comprehensive smallpox vaccination campaign in Biafra. Allowing some room for such variables

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| Date | 10/5/05 |

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- 3 -

as population movement into or out of the enclave and inaccessibility of some areas for either vaccination or sampling, this figure is believed to be quite reliable. We can certainly say with some confidence that the total is less than four million, the lowest previous figure on which relief needs were based. Of this number, some 60 percent are children under 15 years old, while 23 percent are under four.

Medical Conditions

Widespread malnutrition has increased the susceptibility of the population to all diseases ordinarily endemic in the area. There is an added threat of epidemics of measles, whooping cough, and hepatitis. On the other hand, smallpox, tuberculosis, and yellow fever were not seen by the survey team, despite the fact that a yellow fever epidemic has occurred in the surrounding areas of West Africa in recent months.

Death Rate

It is impossible to determine how many people have died in Biafra as a result of the war. Hospital death rates obtained for this survey are valuable as indices, but they cannot be applied to the general population. The Biafran Ministry of Health death reporting system has broken down, and what reports are received from villages or refugee camps are unreliable for a number of reasons.

Relief Priorities

The findings of the survey mission clearly suggest that on the basis of the revised total population figure, it would be possible to meet the bare minimum nutritional needs of the Biafran people with as little as 160 tons of relief supplies per night. To do so, however, airlift shipments would have to be limited to high protein food items and current duplication in internal distribution by the different relief agencies would have to be eliminated. Given present conditions, it is more likely that the minimum tonnage necessary remains at approximately 300

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/3/05 |

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tons per night. During the month of November, relief deliveries to Biafra from all sources averaged about 200 tons per night.

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| Authority | VND 959503 |
| By | MNARA |
| Date | 10/3/05 |

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

PW

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12/10/69
XR-NSSM-11

December 10, 1969

TO: The Under Secretary
THROUGH: S/S *RWB*
FROM: U/CF - C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr. *CF*
SUBJECT: Aircraft Charter for Biafran Relief--
ACTION MEMORANDUM

Pursuant to your request of December 4, U/CF has undertaken a staff study of the possibilities of augmenting JCA tonnage through charter of cargo aircraft, preferably from non-US sources but at least using non-US crews. We have taken the initiative of expanding the study to include purchase by relief operators of suitable aircraft. Prospects for suitable "charters" on commercial lease from owners within the next 90 days appear remote.

Clearance:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck
AF - Mr. Newsom
AFR/CWA - Mr. North
INR - Mr. Cline *by Rem*

1
U- CF C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

~~EXDIS~~

Pol 27-9 Biafran - Nigerian

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Authority VND 959503
By MWA Date 10/5/05

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24
EXPANSION OF THE JCA AIRLIFT

The Problem

JCA airlift capacity can be increased essentially in two ways: (1) Add sufficient aircraft to saturate present facilities at Sao Tome, and (2) replace JCA's low capacity DC-6's with larger capacity aircraft.

Option (1) can be implemented with C-97's already committed to JCA. While the quickest and probably least expensive way to execute option (2) is by adding C-97's over and above this present commitment, it appears to be in the USG interest to make this latter augmentation by using non-US registered aircraft flown by other than US crews.

Considerations

Airfield Capacity - Best estimates put Sao Tome's present capacity at 14 relief aircraft parked on the field at any one time. Present inventory is 11 aircraft: 4 JCA C-97's, 4 Norchurchaid DC-6's, and 3 Canairelief Constellations. Canairelief has also purchased a fourth Constellation, soon to be flown to Sao Tome.

Room for Additional Aircraft - Two additional aircraft would saturate the present facilities at Sao Tome. (Considerations which could conceivably increase the total capacity from 14 to 16 are: (1) Fewer arms planes seem to be using Sao Tome for servicing, and (2) pierced steel planking could be laid to provide an additional one or two parking spaces.) Saturation could be achieved through proper positioning of C-97 aircraft already committed to JCA. This would raise the total of C-97's at Sao Tome to 6 which would assure an average of 4 aircraft flying each night. De-Americanization of crews, already started with

92-27-9 Briefing - briefing

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ICRC's training program at Cotonou, could conceivably be continued at the Tel Aviv maintenance base using one of the two ICRC reserve C-97's based there for transitioning of European crews.

Replacing the DC-6's - It is logical to replace the DC-6's since these 10-ton capacity aircraft occupy the same parking space as a 17-ton capacity aircraft. Commercial charters appear to offer the best option for doing this. While it was expected there would be resistance from The Scandinavian branch of JCA to replacing their aircraft, recent U/CF contacts with Norchurchaid's Mollerup indicate this may not be a problem. Additional financing for JCA would be required.

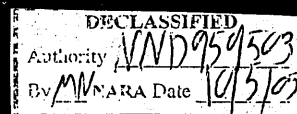
Feasibility of Commercial Charters

In preparation for this replacement solution, U/CF has discreetly checked the commercial aircraft market and reached the following conclusions:

1. If undertaken, replacement of the DC-6's should be on the basis of replacement of all or none. Because of maintenance complications and substantial fixed costs associated with introducing another type aircraft, only a marginal tonnage augmentation would result if, for example, only two of the DC-6's were replaced with larger aircraft.
2. DC-7CF's, a stretched, freighter version of the DC-7, carrying approximately 17 tons each, are attractive replacement choices for the DC-6's for the following reasons:
 - a. DC-7 parts and assemblies are still readily available worldwide.
 - b. Capacity is slightly greater than the C-97 (17 tons vs. 15 tons).

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- c. The DC-7 has been used recently enough by European airlines so that European crews could be used exclusively, or a simple transition program could qualify the European crews presently flying the Norchurchaid DC-6's.
- d. DC-7's are available. Two in Atlanta have been offered for purchase to Balair (JCA-USA contractor) by Northwest Airlines, and Balair is confident that two additional could be found if the decision is made to opt for DC-7's. DC-7's with US registration could be readily transferred to non-US registration. To obtain these aircraft, decision is required by December 20. If go-ahead is received by then, the first could be flying sometime in January and the second not later than February 1.
- e. Initial estimates show costs per ton using a fleet of four DC-7's are slightly higher than for a fleet of six C-97's, but are close enough to be competitive.

3. U/CF has investigated availability of other high capacity aircraft, including charters of the 20-ton Canadair CL-44 and the 18-19 ton Lockheed Constellation. The CL-44 was rejected because its wide wing span places the outboard engines over the runway lights at Uli Airfield, risking propeller, and light, damage with flexing of the wings.

Considerations for the Constellation are:

- a. Capacity is slightly greater than the C-97 or DC-7.
- b. Parts are nearly as available as for the DC-7.
- c. Canairelief has located 3 Constellations in the U.S. which could be placed under Canadian registry and probably flown by Canadian crews (90% of the crew members on the present

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Canairerelief Constellations are Canadian, the rest American).

- d. Constellation crews could probably not be obtained from European sources, since European airlines have not used this aircraft.

Recommendations

1. Within 30 Days - Using aircraft provided under present commitments to JCA, permit six rather than the present four C-97's to be positioned on Sao Tome to assure an average of four C-97's flying each night. This saturates Sao Tome's existing facilities and provides the most immediate augmentation of airlift capacity.

2. Within 60 Days - Commence replacement of the DC-6's. DC-7's now appear to be the most feasible replacement. Availability of two additional DC-7's needs to be confirmed and further cost comparisons developed with the alternative solution--Constellations--so as to make a selection decision on aircraft type prior to December 20. Commence parking expansion at Sao Tome for 1-2 additional aircraft.

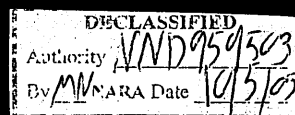
3. Within 90 Days - Complete replacement of the four DC-6's and provide the additional 1-2 aircraft for which parking space has been prepared--all with the same type commercially chartered aircraft determined in 2 above to be most suitable.

Approve DEC 17 1969

Disapprove

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: THE HAGUE
LONDON
PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA
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Amconsul KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra: Dept Spokesman Statement

1. At noon briefing Dec 10 Department spokesman made available FMG press release of Dec 9 and volunteered following statement (unnecessary words deleted):

QTE:

The USG is gratified to learn of yesterday's statement by FMG providing further assurances that it will not violate militarily proposed program of ICRC for daylight relief flights into Biafran enclave. Yesterday's Nigerian Government statement provides commitments against Nigerian air attacks on Uli during relief flights covered by agreement and explicitly states that "there is nothing in agreement intended to secure any military advantage for FMG from relief operations."

USG continues to believe daylight flights are only immediately practicable scheme for expansion of relief operations. As Secretary

205-176

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CLEARANCES: S/PRS - Mr. Bartch (Substance)

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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



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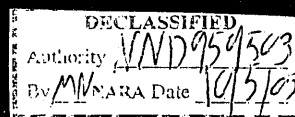
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| | <p>Rogers stated on November 12, "we also believe that proposed arrangements for daylight flights meet in a reasonable manner legitimate security concerns of Biafran authorities." In making this further statement yesterday, Nigerian Government has again evidenced its readiness to meet humanitarian responsibility to support the humanitarian mission of the ICRC. We therefore hope that Biafran leadership will accept these assurances as meeting their security concern and will agree promptly to ICRC daylight flights to meet urgent need of helpless victims of Nigerian war. UNQUOTE</p> <p>2. Unofficial transcript of Q and A after statement follows:</p> <p>QUOTE: Q. Can you bring us up to date on water route and Cross River?</p> <p>A. I think if you examine Secretary's November 12 statement there is reference to it and there has been no change. As I understand, it's still not under way.</p> <p>Q. Are ships still there, the warships?</p> <p>A. I believe ships have have gone.</p> <p>Q. They've gone back?</p> | | |
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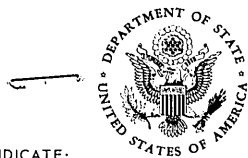
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A. Well, that I don't know. They were charter ships, and I assume they went back under orders from owners of company. I don't know exactly where. Perhaps they've gone back to Columbia. I think that's where they came from.

Q. Is USG position on the Nigerian civil war one of neutrality as between the two sides?

A. Yes. We are not assisting either side. What we're trying to do here is focus our efforts on relief for victims of war and on humanitarian aspects of situation.

Q. Well, are you recognizing Biafran side?

A. No. We continue to recognize FMG.

Q. I don't understand neutrality in that case. If you recognize government and there's a part of the country that is in rebellion against that government, how can you be neutralist between two?

A. Well, perhaps word "neutrality" conveys different meanings to you. I don't think that -- we're not taking part in military struggle on either side. Our interest in military struggle is only that we hope it will be ended. UNQUOTE

END

[ROGERS]

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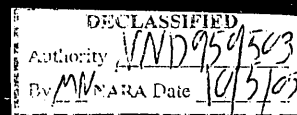
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Amembassy Casablanca

107K69 21502

205-175

STATE _____

REF: (1) Dakar 03647, (2) Lagos 10613

SUBJ: Biafran Relief Plane Reported Down

1. Dawson and Thomas on RSM in Sao Tome saw Constellation N86525 fueling on Saturday, October 4, 1969. Plane stayed Sao Tome about three days. Rumored that pilot was an American named Copes and that Co-pilot was a Biafran. Later the name Brown was mentioned as being the pilot. Crew of this plane stayed at same hotel as U/CF RSM team and they were observed several times coming and going into hotel. Having seen plane and the crew and on basis confirmed info re cargo, it would be impossible

DRAFTED BY: U/CF: GThomas, Jr. SAT DRAFTING DATE: 12/10/69 TEL. EXT.: 29624 APPROVED BY: U/CF: CCFerguson, Jr. [Signature]

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By: MWA Date: 10/5/05



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Page 2

for this craft to be a relief plane. Will check to
see if any photographs taken by U/CF available.

[ROGERS]

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |

48

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM
CONTROLLED DISSEM

*Intelligence
Note* - 857

December 10, 1969

To : The Secretary
Through: S/S
From : INR - Ray S. Cline *by Dem*
Subject: DAHOMEY: Army Back in the Saddle

Although Chief of Staff Lt. Col. Maurice Kouandete, who toppled President Emile-Derline Zinsou today, might assume the presidency himself, he is just as likely--given his unpopularity--to appoint a figurehead while he calls the shots from behind the scenes. In either event Dahomey faces yet another period of political and economic crisis.

Zinsou Only a Compromise Choice. The army installed Zinsou as President in July 1968, when the political parties were unable to agree on a civilian candidate. A nationwide referendum later confirmed Zinsou, a loner without substantial political support. One of his major handicaps during 17 months of rule proved to be his lack of a firm political base. Although he worked assiduously to overcome this lack, he won only a reluctant support from those weary of Dahomey's instability and dissatisfied with military interference in politics.

The Zinsou Experiment. Zinsou apparently planned to use a mixture of firmness and flexibility to restore confidence in the government and start Dahomey on the road to fiscal solvency. He hoped he could stave off financial chaos until his long-term development projects began to pay off and that in the meantime Dahomey could gain some short-term relief from off-shore petroleum exploration (by Union Oil).

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This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

Doc 15 - Dahomey

*NR FN 1 Dahomey
Doc 23-9 Dahomey
Doc 27-9 Dahomey
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA- NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10613 101429Z

53
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13

SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28

ACDA-18 MC-02 RSR-01 /180 W ----- 015261

R 101345Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS.
TO AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 339
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMCONSUL CASABLANCA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10613

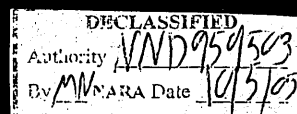
SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

REF: DAKAR 3647

1. JACK CROSSON, SUBJECT OF REFTEL HAS FOR LONGTIME
SERVED AS BIAFRAN AGENT FOR PROCUREMENT
OF AIRCRAFT AND MUNITIONS. WE HAVE REASON
TO BELIEVE MISSING AIRCRAFT NOT RPT NOT LEASED TO
CHURCH GROUP BUT PROBABLY OWNED BY BIAFRANS.
WE ALSO SUSPECT PLANE CARRIED ARMS AND NOT
RELIEF SUPPLIES SINCE LISBON-ABIDJAN NOT NORMAL
RELIEF ROUTE BUT STANDARD ROUTE FOR ARMS FLIGHTS.
TRUEHEART

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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

CONFIDENTIAL 849

PAGE 01 LONDON 09976 101947Z

51
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01
ORM-03 AID-28 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01
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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4694
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 9976

1. IN OPENING REMARKS AT DEC 9 DEBATE, SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME PROPOSED NIGERIAN RELIEF OPERATION TO BE MOUNTED BY HMG OR IF THIS UNACCEPTABLE BY EITHER US OR CANADA, SUGGESTION IS FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BE FLOWN BY LARGE HELICOPTERS FROM SHIPS ANCHORED OFF NIGERIAN COAST. SIR ALEC'S SAID THIS COULD AVOID BIAFRAN OBJECTION TO PINPOINTING LANDING STRIPS AS HELICOPTERS COULD OFFLOAD ANYWHERE. COUPLED WITH SUGGESTION WAS STATEMENT THAT BIAFRAN VEHICLES NOW IN UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF REPAIR AND TRUCKS WOULD THUS ALSO BE REQUIRED TO DISTRIBUTE RELIEF SUPPLIES.

2. SUGGESTION HAS CREATED SOME STIR IN LOCAL PRESS. EMBASSY NOW RECEIVING INQUIRIES CONCERNING THIS POSSIBILITY. FOR OUR PART IT SEEMS CLOSELY AKIN SUGGESTION PUT FORWARD BY FORMER V.P. HUMPHREY WHICH WAS NONSTARTER DUE TO: (1) LACK OF HELICOPTERS; (2) ENORMOUS COSTS AND (3) BIAFRAN OBJECTION THAT THIS WOULD BE THE ACT OF GOVERNMENT INEXTREMIS.
ANNENBERG

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 BAMAKO 01337 101903Z

54

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-09

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 10-13

SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28

ACDA-18 MC-02 RSR-01 /180 W

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R 101725Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
TO AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY RABAT
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2741
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMCONSUL CASABLANCA

CONFIDENTIAL BAMAKO 1337

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

REF: A. DAKAR 3647 B. LAGOS 10613

1. CROSSON GAVE SUBSTANCE REF A STORY EMBOFF DECEMBER 10 WITH DIFFERENCE THAT SAID PLANE REGISTRATION CHANGED FROM N86525 TO 5N85N PRIOR NOVEMBER 28. ALSO WAS RATHER VAGUE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS CASE SUCH AS FLIGHT PLANS, NATURE CARGO, ETC., CLAIMING NO KNOWLEDGE. EMBOFF WENT WITH CROSSON, WHO SPEAKS NO FRENCH, TO PRESENT CASE MALIAN DIRECTOR CIVIL AVIATION MAIGA WHO STATED MALIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE NO RECORD THAT PLANE EITHER FILED FLIGHT PLAN TAKING IT OVER MALI NOR REQUESTED OVERFLIGHT AUTHORIZATION. NEITHER DID IT CONTACT BAMAKO TOWER,

WHICH IT PRESUMABLY WOULD HAVE DONE HAD IT COME AS CLOSE AS FIFTY MILES ESTIMATED REF A. THIS LOCATION, INCIDENTALLY, ARRIVED AT BY CROSSON USING TIME/DISTANCE ESTIMATES AS LISBON DID NOT KNOW SOURCE OF SIGNAL. MAIGA SAID WOULD TELEX

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PAGE 02 BAMAKO 01337 101903Z

CIVIL AVIATION REGIONAL CENTER IN DAKAR REQUEST ANY PERTINENT INFO AND WOULD START CONTACTING APPROPRIATE LOCAL AUTHORITIES NORTH BAMAKO ATTEMPT DETERMINE IF PLANE CRASHED. ADDED THAT IF PLANE HAD CRASHED ANYWHERE IN MALI NOVEMBER 28, HE WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE BEEN NOTIFIED BY NOW.

2. FOR RABAT: REQUEST YOU CHECK CASABLANCA CONTROL (ARTC) FOR PENETRATION TIMES AND POINTS ENTERING AND LEAVING MOROCCAN AIRSPACE FOR SUBJECT AIRCRAFT.
CLARK

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |



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10 DEC 69 20 50Z

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ACTION: AmEmbassy, LAGOS

INFO: AmEmbassy, THE HAGUE
LONDON
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USUN *NEW YORK*
AmConsul, IBADAN
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigerian Press Summary - December 10, 1969

Wash Post report December 10 " AID Bureaucrats Going Full Speed Against US Neutrality on Nigeria". In article by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, Wash Post said:

QTE: Although top policymakers in ~~the~~ White House and State Department have ordained ~~a~~ new policy of neutrality toward Nigeria's civil war, ~~a~~ highway of great value to Nigerian federal forces -- and potential military use against Biafran secessionists-- is being built with US foreign aid.

~~The~~ Decision to build ~~the~~ road with American tax dollars was taken quietly inside ~~the~~ Agency for International Development, with neither specific approval from ~~the~~ White House nor ~~a~~ single word of discussion in Congress.

DRAFTED BY: *[Signature]*
AF/P: *[Signature]* Hicks:djw

DRAFTING DATE
12/10/69

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22044

APPROVED BY: *[Signature]*
AF/P: *[Signature]* Hicks

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck (Info)
AID/AFR/CWA - ~~ME~~XHWilson (Info)

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This project, along with ~~the~~ over-all pro-federal tone of foreign aid to Nigeria, reflects ~~the~~ inability of top policymakers to execute their orders inside ~~the~~ bureaucracy. All ~~the~~ more remarkable, ~~the~~ Nigerian highway project directly contradicts overt congressional reluctance to get entangled in foreign internal disputes following ~~the~~ Vietnam experience.

Actually, ~~the~~ pro-federal bias by AID is ~~a~~ holdover from ~~the~~ official US position of July, 1967, when leaders of ~~the~~ Ibo tribe seceded from ~~the~~ Nigerian federation to form ~~the~~ republic of Biafra. US Foreign Service officers on ~~the~~ African desk, expecting ~~the~~ Biafran revolt to be quickly subdued, sided with their counterparts in ~~the~~ British Foreign Office against ~~the~~ secession. That became Johnson administration policy.

But with ~~the~~ Nixon administration came faint stirrings of change. ~~The~~ New National Security Council staff at ~~the~~ White House under Dr. Henry Kissinger prepared secret memoranda proposing strict neutrality.

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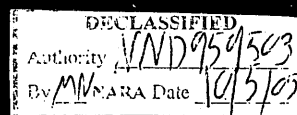
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Urged by Sen. Charles Goodell of N.Y. and opposed by ~~the~~ AID bureaucracy, President Nixon appointed ~~a~~ special relief administrator to get food to starving Biafra. Finally, on November 12, ~~the~~ switch to neutrality was made official--against ~~the~~ wishes of ~~the~~ State Department's African desk--when Secretary of State William P. Rogers called for ~~a~~ negotiated settlement without ~~the~~ customary pro-federal declaration.

But while ~~the~~ policymaking machinery of ~~the~~ US government was ponderously changing direction, AID bureaucrats went full speed ahead. Unknown even to ~~the~~ NSC, construction started on ~~a~~ new US foreign aid project: ~~a~~ road from ~~the~~ southern port of Calabar running 127 miles northward.

That road constitutes unauthorized intervention into ~~a~~ civil war that could lead to unintended US involvement. About 40 miles of ~~the~~ highway come within 6 to 15 miles of the Cross River, dividing line between Nigerian and Biafran troops. That raises ~~the~~ danger that Biafran troops could kill or kidnap Americans working on ~~the~~ road in Nigerian-held territory--~~the~~ fate met by European workmen in Nigeria.

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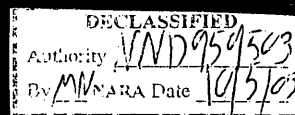
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Moreover, ~~the~~ highway could be of direct military aid. When it is only half completed north from Calabar, it will form a 200-mile link for ~~the~~ federals to their forward bastion of Enugu. That would mean ~~a~~ major shortcut for ~~the~~ federals, who now send supply convoys some 500 miles east to Enugu from ~~the~~ western port of Lagos. In fact, some military traffic has already been seen on completed portions of ~~the~~ new road.

When AID officials testified before Congress last summer, nothing was said about ~~the~~ road. Its existence was discovered by ~~a~~ private citizen--Christopher Beal, ~~a~~ student at ~~the~~ Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy--who passed ~~the~~ information on to amazed officials at ~~the~~ White House and on Capitol Hill.

Official assurances that ~~the~~ Calabar road means little have been less than candid. INNER QTE: ~~the~~ Contractor working on ~~the~~ road reports only insignificant military traffic, END INNER QTE asserts ~~a~~ State Department letter of November 18 to Sen. Goodell. But ~~a~~ confidential AID memorandum for internal use, dated October 28, is less categorical:

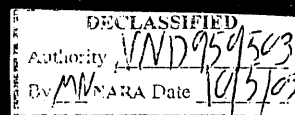
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| DRAFTED BY: | DRAFTING DATE | TEL. EXT. | APPROVED BY: |
| CLEARANCES: | | | |

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

0771





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Department of State
TELEGRAM

INDICATE:
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ACTION: Page 5 of Telegram to LAGOS

INNER QTE: Some military and commercial vehicles have been reported using some of ~~the~~ roughly graded sections of ~~the~~ road. END INNER QTE.

Furthermore, ~~the~~ road reflects over-all AID policy. ~~The~~ Agency's official justification for aid to Nigeria (which mentions Biafra only between quotes) is geared to rebuilding federal public works while ~~the~~ war continues.

But curiously, AID bureaucrats show no interest in getting food inside ~~the~~ landlocked Biafran enclave. Prof. C. C. Ferguson, named by Mr. Nixon as Nigerian relief administrator, has been deluged with legalistic nitpicking but very little help from AID. Accordingly, when ~~the~~ foreign ^{aid} bill reaches ~~the~~ Senate floor, Goodell will try to eliminate either ~~the~~ Calabar road or all aid to Nigeria.

What makes AID's persistent pro-federal policy peculiarly irrational is ~~the~~ fact that ~~the~~ US cannot possibly compete with ~~the~~ Soviets and ~~the~~ British, currently bidding each other up for influence in Lagos by supplying arms to ~~the~~ federals. Rather, ~~the~~ Calabar road is one more example of ~~the~~ ^{that some Foreign Service} mindless devotion and AID officers have for their client countries, despite ~~the~~ risk of US involvement.

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

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FORM DS-322
4-68

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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TELEGRAM

INDICATE:

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ACTION: Page 6 of Telegram to LAGOS

It is ~~is~~ syndrome that so far ~~the~~ Nixon administration is no more
able to break than its predecessors. UNQTE.

END

[ROGERS]

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

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CLEARANCES:

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Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 9501503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

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| TR | XMB | AIR |
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| 3 | 16 | 5 |
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| 6 | 56 | |

1969 DEC 12 PM 4 23

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

XA 50C 3 RED CROSS
FOR RM USE ONLY

XA 50C 10 NIGERIA

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State
INFO : LAGOS, USUN (for Amb. Brown)
DEPT PASS: GENEVA, PARIS, ALL AF POSTS
FROM : Amembassy DAKAR
SUBJECT : Red Cross Aid to Nigeria
REF : Dakar 3396

DATE: December 10, 1969

There is enclosed for the information of the Department a draft letter, in original French text with Embassy translation into English, which Senegalese Red Cross President Rito Alcantara is sending to other African Red Cross Societies on the subject of Nigeria. Alcantara provided a copy of the letter to the Charge and asked for an Embassy translation which he could use to send to Anglophone African Red Cross Societies.

In his letter, Alcantara notes that after the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) transferred its activities to the Nigerian Red Cross, the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria decided on the creation of a National Commission of Rehabilitation to which it conferred the responsibility of the problem of assistance. "The League of Red Cross Societies" and, through it, a number of associated Societies, is prepared to support the activities of the Nigerian Red Cross if the latter is given the entire responsibility for the operation of assistance, which is not now the case" (i.e., that the Nigerian Red Cross be given responsibility rather than the Government-created National Commission of Rehabilitation). Alcantara goes on to say that a similar situation exists in Biafra where the ICRC does not have much to do because of "well-known difficulties." On both sides, therefore, Alcantara concludes, the situation is "critical."

Enclosures

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by:

POL:GRAndrews:ms 12/10/69

Contents and Classification Approved by:
Charge:AN Lukens

Clearances:

0774

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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Dakar A- 204

2

To overcome this impasse, Alcantara goes on to propose a meeting of African Red Cross Societies, and asks the recipients of this letter to make known their views on this proposal, and to give him suggestions on the timing and locale of such a meeting.

COMMENT: This is the type of letter which Under Secretary Dabney of the League encouraged Alcantara to write. Dabney would have preferred to see Alcantara cable the various societies in the interest of speed but will probably consider that this letter is adequate under the circumstances.

LUKENS *amb*

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| DECLASSIFIED | |
| Authority | VND 954503 |
| By | MMARA |
| Date | 10/3/05 |

TRANSLATION

Dear Mr. President,

I have just had a meeting with Mr. W. D., Assistant Secretary General of the League, on the subject of this anguishing problem of the delivery of relief supplies to the victims of the Civil War in Nigeria. The least that one can say is that the situation is alarming. Briefly traced, it is as follows:

a) After the ^{departure} ~~departure~~ of the International Red Cross Committee which transferred its functions to the Nigerian Red Cross, the Federal Government decided to create a National Rehabilitation Commission to which it conferred the responsibility for the relief problem.

The League, and through it, a number of associated Societies, are disposed to support the activities of the Nigerian Red Cross if it has the entire responsibility for the relief operation, which is not the case.

b) Nor is this the case in the secessionist province of Biafra where the International Committee of the Red Cross is present but without great activity because of the difficulties with which you are familiar.

Thus on one side as on the other the situation is critical. Numerous victims of this regrettable conflict are not receiving relief and each moment Nigeria, and as a consequence Africa, loses so many of its children who are indispensable for its economic and social development.

Are we going to watch this drama, with arms crossed, without trying to bring our assistance to the sister Society of Nigeria? Certainly not.

We must all help it to find a solution to this agonizing problem and to pursue its humanitarian action, conscious of its role as an auxiliary of its Government, in conformity with the principles of the Red Cross.

0776

TRANSLATION (contd)

I think that we should meet at a conference table and all together -- it is said that dialogue is an African virtue -- try to find a solution to this problem the importance of which, I am sure, is obvious to you.

I would be very happy to learn your view point on this question as well as your suggestions with regard to the date and place for this meeting.

Fraternally,

0 7 7 7

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| DECLASSIFIED | |
| Authority | VND 954503 |
| By | MM NARA Date 10/5/05 |

Monsieur le Président,

Je viens d'avoir un entretien avec Monsieur W.D., sous Secrétaire général de la Ligue au sujet de cet angoissant problème de l'acheminement de secours aux victimes de la Guerre civile au Nigéria. Le moins que l'on puisse dire c'est que la situation est alarmante. Brièvement schématisée elle se présente comme suit :

a) - Après le départ du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge qui a transféré ses fonctions à la Croix-Rouge Nigériane, le Gouvernement Fédéral a décidé la création d'une Commission Nationale de réhabilitation à qui il a confié la responsabilité du problème de secours.

La Ligue, et à travers elle de nombreuses Sociétés soeurs, est disposée à appuyer les activités de la Croix-Rouge Nigériane si c'est elle qui a l'entière responsabilité de l'opération de secours, ce qui n'est pas le cas.

b) - Il n'en est pas de même dans la province secessionniste du Biafra où, le Comité International de la Croix-Rouge demeure mais sans grande activité du fait des difficultés que vous connaissez.

Donc d'un côté comme de l'autre situation critique. De nombreuses victimes de ce regrettable conflit ne sont secourues et à chaque instant le Nigéria, et par voie de conséquence l'Afrique, perd tant de ses enfants indispensables à son développement économique et social.

Allons nous assister à ce drame, les bras croisés, sans essayer d'apporter notre concours à la Société soeur du Nigéria ? Certainement pas.

Nous nous devons tous de l'aider à trouver une solution à cet angoissant problème et à poursuivre son action humanitaire, consciente de son rôle d'auxiliaire de son Gouvernement, conformément aux principes de la Croix-Rouge.

Je pense que nous devrions nous réunir autour d'une table et tous ensemble - le dialogue dit-on, est une vertu africaine - essayer de trouver une solution à ce problème dont l'importance, j'en suis sûr, ne peut vous échapper.

Je serais très heureux de connaître votre point de vue sur cette question ainsi que vos suggestions quant à la date et le lieu de cette réunion.

Dans l'attente de vous lire, je vous prie de croire, mon cher Président, à l'assurance de mes sentiments très fraternels.

0778



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 824

PAGE 01 DAKAR 03647 231227Z

12
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13
SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 UCF-05 UPW-01 RSR-01

/160 W

086239

R 091730Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5104
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS 563
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMCONGEN CASABLANCA

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAKAR 3647

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (NUMBERED PARA 1)

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

1. AMCIT JACK CROSSON IN TRANSIT DAKAR ADVISED EMBOFF AIRCRAFT WITH CREW OF 3 AMCITS CARRYING RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR BIAFRA FROM LISBON TO ABIDJAN BELIEVED DOWNED IN MALI 28 NOVEMBER. CROSSON, WHO GAVE ADDRESS BLDG. 314, OPALACA AIRPORT, OPALACA, FLA., CLAIMS HE REPRESENTING OWNERS JAMES AND CARL BOY, CAROLINA AIRCRAFT, MIAMI, IN SEARCH FOR INFORMATION ON US REGISTRY CONSTELLATION N86525. NAMES OF CREW REPORTEDLY DAVID BROWN, OZZIE NUBLER, JOHN MASTERSON. CROSSON DENIED AIRCRAFT CARRYING ARMS, STATING IT UNDER LEASE TO CHURCH GROUP, BUT INSISTED HE UNAWARE OF NAME OF LESSEE. LAST KNOWN RADIO CONTACT WITH AIRCRAFT REPORTED 0615 ON 28 NOVEMBER POSITION BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND MOROCCO. AT 1330 SAME DAY DISTRESS SIGNAL FROM UNIDENTIFIED PLANE BELIEVED 50 MILES NORTH BAMAKO STATING DESTINATION ABIDJAN BELIEVED FROM CONSTELLATION.

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Authority VVND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 DAKAR 03647 231227Z

2. CROSSON REPORTS RECEIVING ASSISTANCE FROM GOM IN CASABLANCA EARLY
DECEMBER IN UNSUCCESSFUL SEARCH FOR AIRCRAFT IN MOROCCO BUT DID NOT
RPT NOT CONTACT AMCONGEN CASABLANCA. CROSSON LEAVING FOR BAMAKO
TUESDAY VIA 1830 FLIGHT TO SEEK AID OF GOM IN LOCATING AIRCRAFT.
WAS URGED TO CONTACT EMBASSY, BAMAKO.
LUKENS

CONFIDENTIAL

0780

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| DECLASSIFIED | |
| Authority | VND 959503 |
| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Dec 10 578
12-9-69

CONFIDENTIAL 338

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10578 091844Z

54/47

ACTION 10-15

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 ARA-12 EUR-20 EA-10 NEA-13 ACDA-18

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SCI-05 AEC-11 OST-01

RSR-01 /183 W

009968

P R 091443Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 316
USMISSION USUN
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY RANGOON
AMEMBASSY RAWALPINDI
AMEMBASSY RIO DE JANEIRO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 10578

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

SUBJECT: SWEDISH CBW RESOLUTION

REF: STATE 203606; NEW DELHI 16981

1. EMBOFF MADE POINTS IN REFTEL AND LEFT AIDE MEMOIRE BASED ON PARA 2 WITH MINEXTAFF (MARINS, INTERNATIONAL DIVISION).

2. MARTINS SAID NIGERIAN DEL HAD ALREADY BEEN INSTRUCTED TO SUPPORT REFERRING CBW QUESTION TO CCD IN GENEVA. GP-3 TRUEHEART

11

CONFIDENTIAL

29

0781

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959/503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10601 092039Z

85
ACTION: AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 E-15 AID-28 ORM-03 SR-01
SCSE-00 SCA-01 RSR-01 /153 W
----- 010611

P 091700Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 332
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

UNCLAS LAGOS 10601

SUBJECT: FMG STATEMENT ON RELIEF FLIGHTS

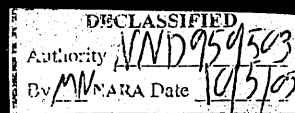
REF: LAGOS 10588

1

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY FMG TODAY RE
CLAUSE 6.2 OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT:
QUOTE IT HAS COME TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY
GOVERNMENT THAT THE PROVISIONS OF CLAUSE 6.2 OF THE AGREEMENT
OF 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1969 CONCLUDED WITH INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) HAVE BEEN MISCONSTRUED AND ARE BEING USED
BY THE REBELS TO REFUSE PERMISSION FOR THE ICRC TO COMMENCE
DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO THE REBEL ENCLAVE. THE REBELS HAVE
REPRESENTED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT
WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS CLAUSE, WHICH SAYS THAT - "THIS
AGREEMENT SHALL BE, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO MILITARY OPERATIONS BY
THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT" - TO ATTACK ULI/ITHIALA WHEN
DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS OPERATED BY THE ICRC ARE THERE.
AS AN EARNEST OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENTS GOOD FAITH AND
INTENTIONS IN CONCLUDING THIS AGREEMENT WITH THE ICRC, THE
GOVERNMENT HEREBY DECLARES THAT IT IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT'S

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

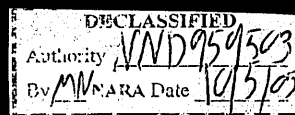
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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10601 092039Z

INTENTION THAT THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE SHOULD ATTACK ULI/IIHALA
WHEN ICRC AIRCRAFTS ARE THERE DURING THE HOURS OF DAYLIGHT
COVERED BY THE AGREEMENT; NOR IS IT THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION
THAT THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE SHOULD ESCORT OR FOLLOW THE ICRC
FLIGHTS ENGAGED IN THE RELIEF OPERATION.
THERE IS NOTHING IN THE AGREEMENT INTENDED TO SECURE ANY
MILITARY ADVANTAGE FOR THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT FROM
THE RELIEF OPERATIONS. UNQUOTE.
TRUEHEART

UNCLASSIFIED

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ORIGIN/ACTION

EUR-6

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| | | 12 |
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| ARMY | CIA | NAVY |
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Pass-4

1969 DEC 11 PM 4 12

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

PL 27-9 Budget Nigeria
No A-6 100
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A-251

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO: COMICEDEFOR

DEPT PASS: LAGOS, LUXEMBOURG, PARIS, STOCKHOLM

FROM : Amembassy REYKJAVIK

DATE: December 9, 1969

SUBJECT: Recruitment of Icelandic Pilots to Fly in Biafra

REF : Reykjavik 559 and previous

The apparent effort to recruit pilots to fly with Count von Rosen in Biafra has stirred some controversy in Iceland, and has provoked a dispute over the purposes of the Icelandic Pilots' Association. Iceland's largest daily, Morgunbladid, on December 2 carried a paid advertisement offering high salaries to pilots interested in flying with the Swedish pilot Carl Gustav von Rosen. They were told to cable von Rosen or Jakobsson (no first name given) at the Hotel Martinez in Paris.

The Airline Pilots' Association was disturbed by this call for volunteers. Skuli Steinthorsson, the Association's Chairman, said there was nothing his organization could do to prevent anyone from accepting the offer but he warned that if any Icelanders did fly with von Rosen this would endanger the lives of those Icelanders who are engaged in relief flights to Biafra.

There are a number of Icelandic pilots and maintenance men involved in such relief flights. These work for Flughjalp, which became a wholly-owned subsidiary of Loftleidir in November. Flughjalp flies four or possibly five Globemaster airplanes out of Sao Tome operating on behalf of the Scandinavian Council of Churches.

Loftleidir and the Pilots' Association are naturally concerned about anything which might jeopardize this operation or endanger aircraft or crew and their concern has some real basis. In September of this year the Nigerian government forced the Icelandic Civil Aviation Authority to cancel the registration of a

Exempted from automatic decontrol.

FORM 4-62 DS-323

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Drafted by:

POL:OEESin:rg 12/8/69

Contents and Classification Approved by:

DCM:TATremblay

Clearances:

ECON:PLAylward (in draft)

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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2

Super Constellation owned by a small Icelandic airline, Flugsyn, which had probably been flying munitions into Biafra before it was registered by Iceland. The Nigerians threatened to shoot down Icelandic planes flying to Biafra (Reykjavik 559) if the registration was not cancelled.

Although officials of the Pilots' Association insisted that no Icелander would show such a disregard for the welfare and safety of his colleagues as to accept the offer to fly, in fact at least 14 Icelandic pilots did so according to Morgunbladid, and have offered their services to von Rosen. One of the pilots interviewed in the paper said that all those engaged in relief flights to Biafra are in fact long time employees of one of the two major Icelandic airlines (Loftleidir and Flugfelag Islands) and that the Pilots' Association is only concerned with their interests and not with the interests of the large number of unemployed pilots. He said that if those involved in relief flights are worried about their safety they can always go home and as for getting mixed up in a war he pointed out that Icelanders had fought in two world wars and Biafra is not a worse cause.

As a curious footnote, the cables answering the advertisement addressed to the Hotel Martinez in Paris have been returned with the note that the hotel knows nothing about von Rosen or what to do with cables addressed to him.

RE
REPLOGLE

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| DECLASSIFIED | |
| Authority | VND 950503 |
| By | MN NARA Date 10/5/05 |



INDICATE:
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Classification
Department of State
TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 Bisfra
204514 Nigeria
9 DEC 69 21 38Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy BONN

INFO: Amembassy IAGOS
US Mission GENEVA

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Rumored Termination JCA Flights

REF: Bonn 15681 Notal

Reuters December 8 release, begin quote Msgr. Carlo Bayer on the Roman Catholic Caritas Internationalis in Rome, and Director General Ludwig Gaisel of the West German Catholic Das Diakonische Werk in Stuttgart, told newsmen their organizations would maintain humanitarian supplies over the airlift. They were commenting on reports that the World Council of Churches at its meeting in Geneva last week called on Joint Church Aid to reconsider its present humanitarian aid activities in Biafra. End quote, has been confirmed accurate, through calls to Catholic Relief Services and World Council of

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF:AED/ewey

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN - Mr. Sher

DRAFTING DATE
12/9/69

TEL. EXT.
29476

APPROVED BY:
U/CF:John W. Foley, Jr.

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FORM FS-413
4-68

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



CONFIDENTIAL
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Department of State
TELEGRAM

INDICATE:
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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Page 2 ~~XXX~~ Amembassy BONN

Churches Headquarters in New York. McCracken (WCC) said
he, Mollerup, others voted in Geneva to re-appraise
commitment to airlift, they did this, and ^{decided} ~~divided~~ in Oslo
only solution was to continue.

END.

[ROGERS]

| | | | |
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FORM FS-413
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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 9504503
By MVA Date 10/3/05

| ORIGIN/ACTION | | | DEPARTMENT OF STATE | | POL 2 79 BIAFRA NIGERIA | |
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| AF-5 | | | AIRGRAM | | FOR RM USE ONLY | |
| RM/R | REP | AF | A-127 NO. | | CONFIDENTIAL | |
| ARA | EUR | FE | TO : Department of State | | HANDLING INDICATOR Sullivan | |
| NEA | CU | INR | INFO: US Mission GENEVA | | Branbeck | |
| E | P | IO | DEPT PASS AS DESIRED | | DEC 12 11 55 AM | |
| L | FBO | AID | FROM : Amembassy LIBREVILLE | | DATE: December 9, 1969 | |
| U/C | MC | RSS | SUBJECT : <u>Biafran Airlift - Week of December 1 through 7</u> | | PH 4 49 | |
| 2 | 2 | 1 | REF : SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA) | | CENTER | |
| AGR | COM | FRB | | | file | |
| INT | LAB | TAR | | | | |
| TR | XMB | AIR | | | | |
| ARMY | CIA | NAVY | | | | |
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| OSD | USIA | NSA | | | | |
| 34 | 10 | 3 | | | | |
| | | NSC | | | | |
| 1969 DEC 12 PM 4 16 | | | | | | |
| COPYFLO-PBR | | | | | | |
| | | | 1. No presumed arms flights are believed to have occurred during the period December 1 - 7. (However, note in this connection the unusual activity reported in paragraph 3, below.) | | | |
| | | | 2. The following presumed relief flights occurred during the same period: | | | |
| | | | A. DC-4 F-BRHE nightly December 1 through 7 (7 flights) | | | |
| | | | B. DC-4 F-BRAP nightly December 5 through 7 (3 flights) | | | |
| | | | C. DC-6 OO-HEX nightly December 1 through 7 (7 flights) | | | |
| | | | D. DC-6 OO-HEX nights of December 3, 6, and 7 (3 flights) | | | |
| | | | 3. <u>Remarks:</u> | | | |
| | | | A. Super G Constellation 5N86H, whose ownership and operational purposes are unknown to the Embassy, returned to Libreville on the morning of December 5 after an absence of three days. Late that same day, an Embassy officer observed what may have been crates of arms being off-loaded from a DC-7 not previously observed here, immediately in front of the civilian terminal building. This white aircraft carried registration number EC-BDL, with "SPANTAX, S.A." painted on its side and Spanish colors on its tail. The crates, which were approximately 24" high, 30" wide, and 60" long and were heavy enough to require a fork-lift for their unloading, were transferred immediately to Super G 5N86H parked nearby. Both planes departed Libreville during the night of December 5. Neither has returned since. | | | |
| | | | FORM 4-62 DS-323 | | FOR DEPT. USE ONLY | |
| | | | CONFIDENTIAL | | <input type="checkbox"/> In <input type="checkbox"/> Out | |
| Drafted by: Crigler/Fields:jn | | | Contents and Classification Approved by: Charge:FCrigler | | | |
| Clearances: | | | | | | |

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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A-127

2

B. Suspected arms carriers TR-LOX (DC-6) and TR-LOK (DC-7) appear to have sat idle in the military area of the airport since December 1. Suspected arms carrier F-BBDD, the former "workhorse" of the arms-lift operation, has meanwhile been absent from Libreville since November 28.

C. French Red Cross relief carrier F-BRAP resumed activity the night of December 5 after being down for repairs since November 30 (Libreville A-124).

D. Swedish Red Cross plane SE-EDT returned to Libreville December 5 and had departed again by the morning of December 6.

E. No MFI-9B "minicons" were sighted during the reporting period.

4. Resume:

- A. Week of November 17: 5 arms flights, 18 relief flights
- B. Week of November 24: 3 arms flights, 19 relief flights
- C. Week of December 1: 0 arms flights, 20 relief flights

GP-4

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10588 092149Z

83
ACTION UCF-05

INFO: OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04
SCA-01 AID-28 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 USIE-00 GIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03
RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 RSR-01 /142 W

011059

P 091625Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 322
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 10588

SUBJ: NIGERIA - RELIEF DEVELOPMENTS

1. EMB INFORMED BY ENAHORO EXTAFF IN REPLY TO A QUERY ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR AMENDMENT ARTICLE 6(2) OF FMG-ICRC AGREEMENT (LAGOS 10157), THAT FMG HAS DECIDED NOT TO AMEND THIS CLAUSE BUT TO ISSUE A STATEMENT WHICH WOULD SERVE THE SAME PURPOSE. ENAHORO SAID STATEMENT WILL BE ISSUED TODAY. IMPLICATION WAS THAT STATEMENT INTENDED RESOLVE ISSUE OF FMG MILITARY RESERVATIONS AND TO MEET ICRC WISHES.
2. ENAHORO ALSO SAID THAT BIGNAMI HAD APPOINTMENT WITH CHIEF TONY ENAHORO ON DEC. 13. "HE THOUGHT" THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF SPECIAL FLIGHTS FOR ICRC. BIGNAMI CONFIRMS MEETING.
3. BIGNAMI IS CONCERNED THAT SHOULD THERE BE A SUDDEN BREAKTHROUGH FOR ICRC ON RELIEF FLIGHTS, THE ONLY EQUIPMENT AVAILABLE COTONOU IS THE TRANSALL AND "ONE AND A QUARTER" CREWS FOR THE C-97'S. TRUEHEART

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 03647 091921Z

47
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13
SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 RSR-01 UCF-05 UPW-01
/160 W

010214

R 091730Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5104
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMCONGEN CASABLANCA

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAKAR 3647

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF PLANE REPORTED DOWN

1. AMCIT JACK CROSSON IN TRANSIT DAKAR ADVISED EMBOFF AIRCRAFT WITH CREW OF 3 AMCITS CARRYING RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR BIAFRA FROM LISBON TO ABIDJAN BELIEVED DOWNED IN MALI 28 NOVEMBER. CROSSON, WHO GAVE ADDRESS BLDG. 314, OPALACA AIRPORT, OPALACA, FLA., CLAIMS HE REPRESENTING OWNERS JAMES AND CARL BOY, UJCAROLINA#AIRCRAFT, MIA JGN#

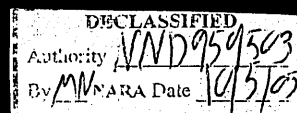
IN SEARCH FOR INFORMATION ON US REGISTRY CONSTELLATION N86525. NAMES OF CREW REPORTEDLY DAVID BROWN, OZZIE NUBLER. JOHN MASTERSON. CROSSON DENIED AIRCRAFT CARRYING ARMS, STATING IT UNDER LEASE TO CHURCH GROUP, BUT INSISTED HE UNAWARE OF NAME OF LESSEE. LAST KNOWN RADIO CONTACT WITH AIRCRAFT REPORTED 0615 ON 28 NOVEMBER POSITION BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND MOROCCO. AT 1330 SAME DAY DISTRESS SIGNAL FROM UNIDENTIFIED PLAN BELIEVED 50 MILES NORTH BAMAKO STATING DESTINATION ABIDJAN BELIEVED FROM CONSTELLATION.

2. CROSSON REPORTS RECEIVING ASSISTANCE FROM GOM IN CASABLANCA EARLY

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0791





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PAGE 02. DAKAR 03647 091921Z.

DECEMBER IN UNSUCCESSFUL SEARCH FOR AIRCRAFT IN MOROCCO BUT DID NOT
RPT NOT CONTACT AMONGEN CASABLANCA. CROSSON LEAVING FOR BAMAKO
TUESDAY VIA 1830 FLIGHT TO SEEK AID OF GOM IN LOCATING AIRCRAFT.
WAS URGED TO CONTACT EMBASSY, BAMAKO.
LUKENS:

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED.
CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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| By | MNARA Date 10/5/05 |



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 06389 081108Z

18-L:
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01 INR-07 CIAE-00

DODE-00 AID-28 E-15 RSR-01 /126 W

001258

P R 081035Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2395
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

SECRET KINSHASA 6389

SUBJ: FMG REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE

REF: KINSHASA 6346

AS ADOULA HAS POSTPONED MEETING WITH BRITISH AMB AND ME ON FMG
REQUEST UNTIL EARLY THIS WEEK, HOPE INFO ALONG LINES REQUESTED
REFTEL CAN BE TRANSMITTED SOONEST. GP-1.
VANCE

KINSHASA - 6389
12-869

SECRET

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By MNARA Date 10/3/05

(21)



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 056

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15681
12-8-69

PAGE 01 BONN 15681 081851Z

51
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03

AID-28 SS-20 NSC-10 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 RSC-01

UPW-01 RSR-01 /134 W

R 081841Z DEC 69 003519
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6368
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 15681

SUBJ : RUMORED TERMINATION OF AMERICAN CARITAS RELIEF FLIGHTS

FREIHERR VON GEMMINGEN, EX-BUNDESTAG DEPUTY WHO IS FRIENDLY TO BIAFRAN CAUSE HAS RECENTLY RETURNED FROM TRIP TO BIAFRA ENCLAVE. HE REPORTED HAVING HEARD RUMOR THAT THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CARITAS PLANS TO TERMINATE ITS NIGHT FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA AND ASKED IF WE COULD CONFIRM. PLEASE ADVISE WHAT WE MAY TELL HIM.
RUSH

✓

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Attention *Mrs. M. Schnitker*
Keep this study together.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1969

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Schnitker:

The death of your son, Dr. Paul Schnitker, is a loss to our country and to the people of Nigeria as well. His service in this country and dedicated commitment in going to Nigeria will be both a memorial to him and an inspiration to those who continue to serve there.

Please accept my deepest sympathy.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Robert C. Anderson
Acting Secretary

Dr. and Mrs. Max T. Schnitker,
4130 Brookside Road,
Toledo, Ohio.

Retyped in S/S-S:MHornblow:gp 12/5/69

AFR/CWA:HWilson:sbm

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BY S/S: CMS

File 6 45
XR File 27-9 Bapka -
Shapiro

0795

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By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/05*

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy OTTAWA

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NOFORN

FOR AMBASSADOR ONLY

1. Canadian Embassy has informed Dept. that Dr. Ivan Head, Foreign Affairs Adviser to Prime Minister, arriving Lagos Dec. 9 to discuss relief situation with FMG officials. He will specifically explore possibility of Canadians initiating air drop operation into Biafra using Canadian military aircraft and crews. Canadians have discussed this proposal with Dept. and we have agreed to provide free-drop bags if Canadian Govt. gets FMG agreement for project.
2. Canadian Govt. wants this info closely held. They are particularly sensitive on this score in view overlapping

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr. *jwf* DRAFTING DATE: 12/8/69 TEL. EXT.: 23256 APPROVED BY: *cef* U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr.

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck *MB*
AF - Amb. Moore *AM*

S/S - Mr. Brown *MB*

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ACTION: PAGE 2 - to Lagos
of
of Head's visit with that/Foley. US diplomatic support
in Lagos not expected or wanted by Canadian Govt., and
Emb therefore is not to become involved with Head mission,
UNLESS approached by Canadians.
END

RICHARDSON

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| U | ✓ 5 | ARA | |
| J | ✓ 6 | EA | |
| D | ✓ 7 | EUR | ✓ 20-21 |
| O | | NEA | |
| C | ✓ 10 | OTHER AGENCIES | |
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| S/PC | ✓ 12-13 | Vice President | |
| S/PRS | | Defense | ✓ 22 |
| U/CF | ✓ 14 | State Rep | ✓ 23 |
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| DG | | AID | |
| E | | AID/VN | |
| H | | USIA | |
| INR | ✓ 15-16 | NSA | |
| IO | | Treasury | |
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ACTION: USMission GENEVA

STATE _____

FOR DAVIDSON

Per telcon Dec. 6, you are to return to Dept. Dec. 9,
stopping off enroute for discussions in London.

END

203723

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr. DRAFTING DATE: 12/8/69 TEL EXT: 23256 APPROVED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr.
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Pul 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

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X.R. Soc 3 Red Cross

CONFIDENTIAL 092

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01258 061123Z

22 12
ACTION UCF-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 SR-01 PM-03 AF-05 NSCE-00 NSC-10 INR-06

CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 AID-12 IO-04 /065 W
----- 126384

P 061100Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2989
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1258

LIMDIS

DEPT FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: ICRC STOCKS VIA LIBREVILLE

REF: (A) STATE 201816; (B) COTONOU 1214 NOTAL

1. EMBOFF DELIVERED ICRC/COTONOU MESSAGE (REF B) TO FRENCH RED CROSS HERE THIS MORNING AND DISCOVERED THAT ICRC HAS IN EFFECT SET UP LIAISON OFFICE WITHIN THAT EMBASSY TO HANDLE TRANSSHIPMENT OF ICRC STOCKS INTO BIAFRA. AS INDICATED REF B, STOCKS FROM COTONOU SCHEDULED TO BEGIN ARRIVING HERE ABOARD C-97 TODAY. TOTAL FOUR FLIGHTS PLANNED, CARRYING SOME 50 TONS.

2. ICRC REP GONTARD ALSO INDICATED SHIPLOAD SOME 650 TONS FOODSTUFFS HAD NOW ARRIVED HERE FROM SANTA ISABEL AND IS TO

BE UNLOADED TODAY (OF PARA 4 REFTEL A). DID NOT RPT NOT MENTION NAME OF VESSEL.

3. GONTARD NOTED THAT TOTAL NEW STOCKS SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT KEEP TWO FRC DC-4'S BUSY FOR ABOUT SIX WEEKS. FRC REP ADDED THAT THEY ATTEMPTING OBTAIN THIRD DC-4 TO AUGMENT FLEET BUT SO FAR UNSUCCESSFUL.

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Libreville 1258
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By MNARA Date 10/3/05



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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01258 061123Z

4* GONTARD ALSO TOLD EMBOFF PRIVATELY THAT ICRC VERY UNEASY ABOUT LIBREVILLE OPERATION AND POSSIBLE ADVERSE GABONESE GOVERNMENT REACTION IF IT BECAME WIDELY KNOWN. SAID ICRC HAD LATELY FLOWN SEVERAL LOADS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO LIBREVILLE ABOARD BALAIR-OWNED TRANSALL UNDER COVER OF DARKNESS. SUPPLIES IMMEDIATELY TRANSFERRED TO WAITING FRC AIRCRAFT, AND TRANSALL DEPARTED BEFORE DAYLIGHT. SAID ICRC UNCLASINESS ACCOUNTED FOR FRENCH EMBASSY/FRC "SCREEN". FUNKHOUSER

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| By | MV NARA Date 10/5/05 |

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS

INFO: USMISSION GENEVA

STATE:

REF: Lagos 10449

LIMDIS

1. In conversation with ICRC Geneva last week, Ferguson informed them US unable justify continued heavy cost four non-operating C-97s Cotonou. It was agreed therefore that the planes would be removed from Cotonou.

2. Tentative agreement on disposition planes as follows: two C-97s to be stationed Tel Aviv as ICRC ^{standby} ~~xxxxx~~ reserve in the event ICRC resumes flying; two C-97s to be transferred to JCA Sao Tome. Of these latter two, one will replace JCA C-97 being scrapped; transfer of second ^{previous} will complete/US commitment to supply two JCA planes additional to original level of four. Thus, net JCA holdings will be six planes, original four plus two, of which Lagos has previously been informed.

3. We see no need Embassy volunteer information this transaction to FMG. If asked, two ICRC planes Tel Aviv to be explained per para 2.

Transfer of planes to Sao Tome to be explained by reference to earlier explanation to FMG re US commitments JCA.

End.

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw *WMS*

DRAFTING DATE

12/4/69

TEL. EXT.

23406

APPROVED BY:

AF - Amb. Moore *RM*

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Foley *RF*

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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09836 042001Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 UCF-05 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20

USIA-12 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 (RSR-01 /154 W
----- 114777

R 041743Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4586

CONFIDENTIAL LONDON 9836

REF: LONDON 9809-*Pol 124*
for Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

1. POL. COUNS. AND EMBOFF HAD INFORMAL TALK TODAY WITH LORD CARRINGTON AND BRIEFED HIM IN GENERAL TERMS ON US POSITION AND EFFORTS ON RELIEF ACTIVITIES.

2. LORD CARRINGTON HIGHLY APPRECIATIVE. HE HAS GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF SITUATION AND CONFESSED THAT HE PERSONALLY SUPPORTED FMG POSITION IN CONFLICT. HOWEVER, HIS MISSION WILL BE FOR PURPOSE OF FACT FINDING AND REPORT TO CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADERSHIP. HE REMARKED THAT HEART OF THE PROBLEM SEEMED TO HIM TO BE NEED FOR WILLINGNESS ON BIAFRAN SIDE TO NEGOTIATE.

3. LORD CARRINGTON LEFT LONDON TODAY, EXPECTS TO BE IN BIAFRA EVENING DECEMBER 5, REMAIN THERE FOR TWO DAYS AND THEN PROCEED TO LAGOS, ALTHOUGH THERE SEEMED TODAY TO BE SOME QUESTION ABOUT WILLINGNESS FMG TO RECEIVE HIM. IF HE DOES VISIT LAGOS, WE EXPECT HE WILL ASK TO SEE AMBASSADOR TRUEHART. WE RECOMMEND THAT, IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, AMBASSADOR TRUEHART TAKE OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE CARRINGTON GENERAL BRIEFING ON SITUATION AS HE SEES IT.

4. COMMENT: CARRINGTON IS HIGHLY INTELLIGENT, ACTIVE, ATTRACTIVE AND INFLUENTIAL FIGURE IN CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADERSHIP. HIS POSITION AS CONSERVATIVE LEADER IN HOUSE

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*London - 9836
12-4-69*

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PAGE 02 LONDON 09836 042001Z

OF LORDS WILL ENABLE HIM TO PLAY SUBSTANTIAL ROLE IN
CONTINUING DEBATE HERE ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA.
ANNENBERG

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 008

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04320 041214Z

20-L-12
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 SS-20 NSC-10 SR-01 PM-05 INR-07

CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 /076 W

112284

R 041130Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3896
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4320

FOR U/CF

REF: STATE 201028

DAVIDSON MET BASSET AND DISCUSSED WITH HIM AS INSTRUCTED REFTEL.
BASSET, SCHAEGLER AND DAVIDSON EXPECT TO MEET NEXT WEEK WHEN
ICRC DRAWS UP PLAN FOR C-97 DISPOSAL.

COMMENT: FROM TALK WITH BASSET ICRC MAY ATTEMPT TO WIGGLE OUT
OF FERGUSON-FREYMOND AGREEMENT. DAVIDSON WILL WRITE OUT AGREE-
MENT AS WORKED OUT IN MEETING WITH U/CF, SCHAEGLER AND GERBER.
RIMESTAD

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Pol 7 UK
for Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09837 041837Z

50:
ACTION AF 18:

INFO OCT 01 EUR 20 CIAE 00 DODE 00 PM 05 IH 02 JNR 07 L 03

NSAE 00 NSC 10 P 00 RSC 01 PRS 01 SS 20 USIA 12 IO 13

AIO 28 UCF 05 SR 01 ORM 03 RSR 01 1154 MI

R 041750Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4587
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

CONFIDENTIAL I A L LONDON 9837

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: LONDON 9809- Pol 7 UK
for Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

1. FCO (JOHN WILSON) GAVE EMBOFF MORE BACKGROUND UPONING FOLEY/TEBBIT VISIT TO LAGOS THIS AFTERNOON. HE SAID HMG HAS BEEN CONCERNED FOR "SOME TIME" AT LACK HIGH LEVEL CONTACT WITH EITHER FMG OR BIAFRANS SINCE PM WILSON'S VISIT EARLY THIS YEAR. ACCORDING TO J. WILSON, IDEA WAS HATCHED ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO THAT HMG SHOULD SEND EMISSARY ACCOMPANIED BY RELIEF EXPERT (PROBABLY LORD HUNT) AND AN FCO OFFICIAL TO TALK WITH OJUKWU. PURPOSE OF DISCUSSION PRIMARILY RELIEF BUT ALSO PEACE POSSIBILITIES IF SUBJECT WAS OPENED BY BIAFRANS VISIT SUBJECT GOWON'S PRIOR APPROVAL.

2. PROPOSAL WAS TO HAVE BEEN PRESENTED BY FOLEY TO GOWON BUT WHEN UK HIGOM LAGOS SUGGESTED FOLEY VISIT, FMG REACTED NEGATIVELY POINTING OUT THEIR INTENTION ATTEND ADDIS TALKS DEC 14 AND THAT MINISTERIAL LEVEL VISIT FROM HMG PRIOR TO TALKS WOULD MAKE THEIR DECISION TO ATTEND APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN IN RESPONSE TO PRESSURE FROM HMG.

3. WITH FOLEY MISSION THUS TURNED DOWN, HMG ASKED BRITISH HIGOMER LESLIE GLASS SEEK GOWON APPROVAL FOR EMISSARY TRIP. GLASS PRESENTED PLAN, GOWON DISCUSSED IT WITHIN FMG AND NIGERIANS DECIDED REQUEST FOLEY VISIT AFTER ALL TO DISCUSS

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Authority VND 95/503
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Pol 7 U R
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 992

PAGE 01 LONDON 09809 041153Z

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ACTION: EUR-25

INFO: OCT-01 AF-12 UCF-05 SSO-00 CCO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03
RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 RBR-01 NSCE-00 IO-13 /109 W
112185

O R 041140Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4565
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LONDON 9809

1. FCO (JOHN WILSON) JUST INFORMED EMBOFF THAT HMG WILL
ANNOUNCE AT NOON TODAY IMPENDING VISIT TO LAGOS BY JUNIOR
MINISTER MAURICE FOLEY AND SUPERINTENDING UNDER SECRETARY
DONALD TEBBIT. IT INTERESTING TO NOTE THIS VISIT COINCIDES
NEATLY WITH BIAFRA/LAGOS VISIT OF LORD CARRINGTON WHICH
HAS BEEN PLANNED FOR SOME TIME AS TORY FACT-FINDING MISSION.
ANNENBERG

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London-9809
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Authority VND 959503
By MWA Date 10/5/05

COPIES TO: 12/5/69

S-Mr. Okun

~~U-Mr. Stempel~~ 7/30/70 P. Clarke

J-Mr. Monjo

C-Mr. McHenry

AF-Mr. Rizik

INR - Mr. Marks

S/PC - Mr. Dobbins

Original returned to:

Miss Shishkin / U/CF

Exo 16

18867

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1969

~~SECRET/EXDTS~~

TO: U/CF - Ambassador Ferguson
AF - Ambassador Moore
INR - Mr. Cline
THROUGH: S/SB
FROM: The Acting Secretary

SUBJECT: Possibility of expanding Biafran relief

In reference to the memorandum for the President on Biafran relief I request a thorough staff study on the possibilities of augmenting JCA tonnage through charter of cargo aircraft, preferably from non-US sources but at least using non-US crews.

The study should of course be undertaken on a restricted basis and with all due care to avoid triggering misleading press reports.

I would appreciate receiving this study by December 10th.

Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

U/CF: C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

~~SECRET/EXDTS~~

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

Copies To:

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U/CF
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AFR/CWA
S/S-S:CMS

30

S/S-18603

RS/R FILES

Attention MRS. MULLETT 7/63
Keep this ~~study~~ together.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

SECRET

December 4, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nigerian/Biafran Relief

Discussion

A complete impasse has been reached on moving relief into Biafra by daylight airlift. The ICRC airlift is no longer operating and night flights by JCA, the French Red Cross and Africa Concern, all considered illegal by the FMG, are delivering supplies at only half the peak level reached last May.

Present arrangements for getting relief into the enclave are considered by the agencies involved to be both dangerous and inefficient. Prospects for resumption of ICRC relief flights seem remote, given the Biafrans' apparent determination to permit relief flights only at night as cover for the arms airlift. Although both sides have agreed "in principle" on the Cross River surface route, it is doubtful either side is in fact willing to implement the project. Further, the Cross River proposal is not a substitute for relief flights in the near term since the present low water level would limit the amount of relief that could be provided Biafra by this means over the next few months.

Relief into Biafran-held territory thus remains wholly inadequate and the nutritional situation continues to be grave, particularly in the areas away from the zone served by the paved arteries such as the Orlu-Owerri road. Recent samplings by the medical member of a survey team from the office of your Special Coordinator for Nigerian Relief,

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C/M: U/CF: CC Ferguson

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BY S/S: C

See 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

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Ambassador Ferguson, reveal that 42 percent of the children are suffering from edema and 52 percent of the adult population. Nearly 100 percent of the people in the bush suffer in varying degrees from malnutrition.

Basic Options

With respect to our future policy on Nigerian relief, we have considered four basic courses of action:

(1) Withdrawal from the Nigerian/Biafran relief effort coupled with the publication of a White Paper on our efforts as justification. In our judgment, from the domestic standpoint and our obligation to the international community, this is not realistic.

(2) Maintain the present level of our support and involvement, that is financial contributions to JCA on their present scale. This course would result in some domestic criticism for inadequacy, but would put increased pressure on others (e.g., the French Red Cross and Africa Concern, etc.) further to increase their relief efforts. We might engage in appropriate diplomatic moves to that end.

(3) Engage our political strength through assurances and guarantees short of the use of force to try to break the impasse over relief arrangements. This course would have to take into account the political cost of obtaining acceptance by the parties of relief arrangements.

(4) Increasing the level of our support for humanitarian organizations that have existing airlift programs for flying supplies into the enclave and providing support to other humanitarian organizations that may initiate airlift relief programs for Biafra. (Support would consist of increased relief supplies and might extend to the provision of additional U.S. aircraft or funds to finance non-U.S. charter aircraft.) This is the one practical course available at the present time to achieve an effective increase in relief flow to Biafra. It would, however, put further strain on our relations with the FMG.

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Future Course of Action

It is still in the U.S. interest, from the humanitarian as well as from the domestic political standpoint, to continue to maximize the flow of relief to the Biafran enclave. It is assumed that domestic political opinion would not at this stage permit disengagement from the relief effort. At the same time, there is an inherent unlikelihood of ever bringing about an agreement between the parties for relief arrangements without impossible political commitments by the U.S. The only feasible course therefore is Course No. 4 of increasing our support to airlift programs capable of ensuring a more adequate flow of supplies.

Implementation - Primary Action

The primary supporting action with which the Department is planning to proceed is:

(1) Increased support for JCA, including acquiescence in the transfer from ICRC to JCA of its C-97's and increased financial assistance to JCA-USA (the American component of the church relief consortium). Two of these C-97's would be positioned at Tel Aviv, the JCA maintenance base, and serve as both a maintenance back-up for JCA and a contingency reserve for ICRC should it fly again. The ICRC would transfer its other two C-97's directly to JCA, one as an additional aircraft already promised and not picked up, and one as a replacement for a C-97 already in the fleet and not economically repairable. Five C-97's instead of the present four will then be positioned at Sao Tome, the operating base for JCA flights into the enclave. Four of these C-97's would be in an operational status and one would be used for back-up purposes. This transfer action by the ICRC would both facilitate overhaul in Tel Aviv of the aging C-97 fleet and assure that four C-97's rather than the present three will be available to fly each night from Sao Tome. It will enable JCA to augment its present airlift capacity by 18 percent or 28 tons over the present 150 ton nightly average.

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(2) Additional increase of JCA tonnage is possible through replacing its fleet of five low capacity DC-6's with higher capacity Constellations and/or C-97's (increase of approximately 26 percent or 40 tons a night) and expanding the facilities at Sao Tome to accommodate two or three more of this size aircraft (an approximate increase of 40 percent or 60 tons a night). These actions could increase the airlift by 85 percent or an average of 128 tons a night above the present level. It would bring us to a goal of 300 tons per night of relief supplies airlifted into Biafra from Sao Tome which is the maximum that could be handled by that base.

Inherent Problems

(1) In adopting the proposed action, which appears at present to be the only viable plan for effecting an immediate resumption of a more adequate flow of relief supplies, we are committing ourselves to a possible collision course with the FMG. The FMG will certainly be aroused over increased U.S. support for what they consider illegal, clandestine operations. The Nigerians would have reason to feel particularly resentful after what they consider to be their forthcoming and constructive response in accepting the ICRC daylight flight proposal. We would seem to be instead rewarding Biafran intransigence on daylight flights and in the face of strong Biafran attacks on the United States. FMG policy is to interdict the night relief flights once their night intercept capability permits them to do so. As a result, the danger of a JCA-operated C-97 being shot down, its American crew killed, captured or tried, and a direct confrontation with the FMG is very real. At the very least, we will have to expect to bear the heat of Nigerian ire and accusations that our policy is pro-Biafran and at the risk of possible reprisals against American citizens and interests.

(2) This risk might be more manageable through efforts to increase the tolerance of the FMG, such as continuation of ICRC's and JCA's daylight flight discussions,

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attempts to provide the FMG with manifests certifying the innocence of JCA cargo, and the possibility of installing an electronics capability offering the FMG positive identification of relief aircraft. The risk may also be somewhat diluted by the ability of Balair (flight contractor for JCA) to recruit foreign crews for the C-97's and by the use of Constellation aircraft.

Supporting Steps

Supporting steps which would help our efforts on Nigerian relief are:

(1) Financial support for supplies or charters to national Red Cross Societies and other humanitarian organizations willing to undertake the previous functions of the ICRC in managing and sponsoring airlift operations into Biafra. Such U.S. support would be channeled through the ICRC which in turn would support existing relief agencies or create new ones to fly relief supplies at night for support of ICRC teams in Biafra. This option may be difficult to implement owing to (a) legal difficulties faced by national societies in flying without a formal ICRC relief agreement, and (b) the unwillingness expressed by several societies to take all the flight risks while the ICRC merely distributes the supplies at the end of the line.

(2) Encourage the ICRC or national Red Cross Societies to negotiate with the FMG and the Biafrans an air drop scheme involving a neutralized drop zone removed from strategic targets.

(3) Explore further the Cross River project by suggesting a third round of talks and seeking some international organization or third party other than the U.S. to sponsor and guarantee the route.

(4) A direct approach to UN Secretary General U Thant to suggest and explain the creation of an Emergency UN Relief Force which among other matters might act as the sponsor and guarantor of the Cross River relief route.

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(5) Support various efforts by the Pope, the Hague Group, and the Swiss for a Humanitarian Truce over the Christmas holidays during which time a massive airlift would be mounted around the clock to inundate Biafra with relief supplies. Encourage these parties to coordinate among themselves and to work through appropriate African leaders who are friends of the FMG and Biafra.

Political Postscript

In the search for settlement of the war, both Gowon and Ojukwu have, in principle, agreed to the Emperor's proposal for confidential, unconditional talks between representatives of the two sides. It is still uncertain whether these preliminary talks will take place and, if they do, even more doubtful that they will lead to serious negotiation. We are continuing to explore what the U.S. and other outside Governments can do to encourage and support negotiations. I have recently held useful talks with the Foreign Ministers of France and Britain during my European trip. We expect to consult further with France and the UK in the next few weeks on specific cooperative measures that can be taken without direct involvement. We are considering US-UK-French diplomatic influence on the two parties; possible help to African mediation efforts; outside assistance in developing a neutral observer force to meet security concerns; and a possible international consortium to offer resources and assistance in postwar reconstruction.

S/S
Acting Secretary *Trade Corp*

Clearances:

AFR/CWA - WHNorth
S/PC - CWRuser

C/M:U/CF:CCFergusonJr./AF:CRMoore

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| By MNARA Date 10/3/05 |



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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18503

SECRET

November 29, 1969

TO The Under Secretary

THROUGH: S/S

FROM: U/CF - C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr. *CFJ*
AF - C. Robert Moore *CRM*

SUBJECT: Nigerian/Biafran Relief

In accordance with the request from the White House, there is attached a proposed memorandum from you to the President on the Nigerian/Biafran relief situation. It includes information on the present status and planned actions in our Biafran relief effort.

Clearances:

AFR/CWA - WHNorth
S/PC - CWRuser

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| By | MW NARA Date 10/3/05 |



18349

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

RS/R FILES

Attention MRS. TULLY
Keep this steady together. MS

December 4, 1969

Copies To:
U/CF
AF
EA
P
AFR/CWA
S/S-S:CMS

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter to the President from
Joseph A. Schellings,
Brooklyn, New York

In response to Mr. Melencamp's request of November 24 there is enclosed a suggested reply, for signature by a member of the White House staff, to a letter to the President from Joseph A. Schellings of Brooklyn, New York. Mr. Schellings expressed his support of the President's efforts to obtain peace in Vietnam. He also enclosed a \$100 check for relief to Biafra.

The original correspondence is returned for your files.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

S/S *[Signature]*
A True Copy

Enclosures:

1. Suggested reply and enclosures
2. Letter and check from Mr. Schellings

cc: AF - Mr. Alexander (w/att) Clearances:
EA - Mr. Myers (w/att) U/CF - Mr. Foley
P - Mr. Cheshes (w/att) AFR/CWA - Miss Wilson

U/CF: LLowenstein 12/1/69
S/S #18349

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 XR Rec 27-9 Bayper

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By MV NARA Date 10/3/05

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INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
201789
XN 2111 8-3 Biafra
39 JS
3 DEC 69 23 15Z
69769

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TELEGRAM

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ACTION: ~~USMISSION GENEVA~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
ACTION: Amembassy PARIS ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ PRIORITY
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ PRIORITY
INFO: USMission GENEVA

STATE _____

Geneva for Davidson.

Institute Pasteur, 25 rue

1. Please pass following text to Dr. Grasset/ ~~XXXXXX~~ du Dr. Roux
from
/Ambassador Ferguson concerning Biafra Measles/Smallpox/BCG

Campaign:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. Measles and BCG probably do interfere with one another.

The practical effect of this potential interference is
currently being studied in West Africa.

2. If Biafran Ministry of Health has no objection to
combined measles/smallpox/BCG vaccination, there is no
reason why such vaccination could not be attempted.

3. If Biafran MOH will not assume responsibility for
measles/smallpox/BCG , vaccination for ~~measles/smallpox~~

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:KAWestern KAW
DRAFTING DATE: 12/5/69
TEL. EXT.: 29002
APPROVED BY: C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr. *ccf*
CLEARANCES: U/CF: Dr. Lytle *Lytle*
AID - Miss Wilson *HWK*

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0817

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Authority VND 954503
By *MN* NARA Date 10/5/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin

ACTION:

Info:

measles/smallpox must assume first priority for present measles season.

4. Relief survey mission report indicates there are 754,000 children 0-4 years in Biafra. Only 331,000 currently in this age group have been vaccinated for measles/smallpox.

5. First priority should be "recently disturbed" areas of Owerri, Aba, Annang, and Umuahia where vaccination scar rates are lowest.

6. ~~XX~~ Relief Survey Mission estimates that as much as 250,000 doses of measles vaccine may be needed in next six months if 60 percent of 423,000 unvaccinated children are to be reached.

7. ICRC may purchase from remaining funds in measles/smallpox grant 100,000 doses fresh vaccine. AID prepared consider favorably fifty thousand monthly vaccine for following three months when assurances received regarding adequate storage handling and forward planning as per paragraph 10 this message.

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

Clearances:

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8-65

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By MNA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

page 3 of telegram to Paris & Geneva

8

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ACTION:

8. Comstock report from Enugu and Relief Survey Mission report from Biafra indicate that tuberculosis is a clinical problem rather than a widespread public health problem in war zone at the present time.
9. Expect ^{only} /limited USAID support for tuberculosis diagnosis and chemotherapy program at present time.
10. National Communicable Disease Center (Millar) recommends entire batch of measles vaccine earmarked for El Salvador be discarded as ineffective. Low titer at this date suggests inadequate storage handling. Please check ICRC refrigeration system. In view of foregoing, cannot repeat not support donation of vaccine to El Salvador. Please advise Ambassador Ferguson soonest regarding ICRC action on this vaccine.
- END TEXT.
11. FOR GENEVA: Davidson should telephone Grasset after message ~~delivered~~ to obtain her reaction.
/delivered

END

END

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

CLEARANCES:

RICHARDSON

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FORM DS-322
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Authority VND 950/503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

13-3-69
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CONFIDENTIAL 990

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10449 031759Z

47 41
ACTION AF-05

INFO: OCT-01 SS-20 UCF-01 SR-01 PM-03 INR-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 1049 W
107622

R 031645Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 239
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 10449

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: STATE 201028

DURING MEETING DECEMBER 3 WITH BIGNAMI AND HOCHE, DCM
WENT OVER IN DETAIL U.S. POSITION AS DESCRIBED REFTEL.
HOWEVER, FROM MESSAGES AVAILABLE TO US, WE (AND BIGNAMI) ARE
NOT CLEAR RE CONTENT OF FERGUSON-ICRC "AGREEMENT" TO
DISPOSE OF C-57'S PREVIOUSLY STATIONED COTONOU. WOULD
APPRECIATE CLARIFICATION.
TRUEHEART

①

CONFIDENTIAL

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0820

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Authority VND 959/503
By MNARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

KN INCO - FISH 17 ICE

CONFIDENTIAL 959

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04313 031800Z

53

ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 SS-20 NSC-10 CIAE-00 INR-07

NSAE-00 RSC-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 UPW-01

AID-28 EUR-20 RSR-01 /128 W

R 031735Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3889
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

107614

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4313

FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: STOCKS

1. AMMAN STATED THAT ICRC WILL SHIP 1,000 TONS STOCKFISH FROM ICELAND TO SAO TOME DECEMBER 10. THEY WERE CONSIDERING SENDING 500 TONS STOCKFISH TO COTONOU TO REPLACE 450 TONS OF DETERIORATING FISH WHICH ICELAND AGREED TO TAKE BACK. DAVIDSON ASKED WHY STOCKFISH FROM ICELAND WAREHOUSE BEING SENT COTONOU WHERE IT COULD DETERIORATE AS DID PREVIOUS STOCKS. AMMANN REPLIED THAT HE AGREED THAT HOLDING LARGE STOCKS IS SCANDALOUS BUT THIS IS BIGNAMI'S WISH. COMMENT: BIGNAMI WANTS TO KEEP STOCKS AT STATUS QUO AS SOME TYPE OF SUPPORT FOR HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH FMG.

2. UNICEF HAS AGREED TO TRANSFER 2,000 TONS CSM FROM COTONOU TO LAGOS AND TRANSFER BEANS AND CSM FROM COTONOU TO SAO TOME. BIGNAMI HAS TOLD ICRC NOT TO CARRY OUT TRANSFER. DAVIDSON ADVISED ICRC LARGE STOCKS WHICH ARE VULNERABLE TO DETERIORATION NOT NECESSARY IN COTONOU. AMMANN AGREED RETENTION OF LARGE STOCKS COULD LEAD TO EMBARRASSMENT FOR ICRC. DAVIDSON OBSERVED STOCKS IN FACT PROPERTY OF UNICEF WHICH HAS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY. AMMANN AGREED TO DISCUSS TRANSFER WITH UNICEF AND JCA. RIMESTAD

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 978

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04312 031814Z

47-42
ACTION UCF-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 AF-05 SR-01 PM-03 INR-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 /049 W

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P 031725Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3888

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4312

LIMDIS

AMB. FERGUSON FROM DAVIDSON

SUBJECT: SITUATION AS SEEN FROM GENEVA.

1. ICRC: FREYMOND AND JAGGI PROPOSED THE "MEDICAL ONLY" AND "FOB ULI" PLANS FOR ICRC. THE "FOB ULI" PLAN ENVISIONED USING SERVICES OF OTHER RED CROSS SOCIETIES FROM BASES TO BE SOUGHT BY RC SOCIETIES AND CARRIERS. WHEN ICECROSS OFFER DID NOT RECEIVE SUPPORT FROM OTHER SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES BIGNAMI SUGGESTED THAT A RESPECTED INDIVIDUAL MIGHT BE THE SPONSOR THROUGH WHOM ICRC WOULD REIMBURSE COST OF AIRLIFT. FRAGTFLUG SUGGESTED IN CONVERSATIONS WITH ICRC THAT THE MARQUIS OF HEFFORDSHIRE (PHONETIC) AN IRISH NOBLEMAN BE THE SPONSOR. ALTHOUGH ICRC THROUGH BIGNAMI, JAGGI AND FREYMOND PROPOSED THIS PLAN THEY NOW HAVE COLD FEET ABOUT IMPLEMENTING IT. WITH FREYMOND INVOLVED IN OTHER MATTERS, ICRC HAS AGAIN RETURNED TO ITS INDECISIVENESS. BIGNAMI IS BACK AT LAGOS AND THE COMMITTEE IS WITHOUT RUDDER OR PILOT.

2. LICROSS: LICROSS IS VERY INTERESTED IN HELPING WHERE IT CAN BUT HAS LIMITED ITSELF TO WORKING UNDER AN AGREEMENT WITH THE FMG. AS BEER INDICATED LICROSS WOULD NOT WISH TO WORK CONTRARY TO THE WISHES OF ITS MEMBER SOCIETY NIGERIAN RC. BEER AND DABNEY HAVE INDICATED HOWEVER STRONG DESIRE TO ASSIST ON BIAFRAN SIDE IF FORMULA COULD BE FOUND. THEY PUT THEIR HOPE FOR ASSISTANCE TO BIAFRA IN CONFERENCE TO BE HELD AMONG AFRICAN RC SOCIETIES. LICROSS HOPES AFRICAN SOCIETIES WOULD BE ABLE TO.

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04312 031814Z

PRODUCE AN AGREEMENT WITH BOTH SIDES WHICH OTHER GROUPS NAMELY ICRC AND JCA HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO DO. OTHER THAN AFRICAN CONFERENCE LICROSS HAS NO SPECIFIC IDEA ON HOW TO PROCEED ON BIAFRAN QUESTION. IN THE MEANTIME LICROSS GEARING UP TO INCREASE ITS ASSISTANCE ON NIGERIAN SIDE.

3. KNIGHTS OF MALTA: KNIGHTS OF MALTA HAVE OFFERED TO HELP WHERE ICRC OR GOVERNMENTS OR OTHER RESPONSIBLE GROUPS FEEL THIS OLD AND HIGHLY RESPECTED ORGANIZATION CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE. COUNT DE CAZES, K OF M DELEGATE TO INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION (ICEM) CONFERENCE TOLD DAVIDSON AT LUNCH THAT COUNT DE PIERREDON IN PARIS HAS BEEN GIVEN RESPONSIBILITY FOR NIGERIA/BIAFRA MATTER FOR THE K OF M. IN ABIDJAN KNIGHTS OPERATE REFUGEE CENTER FOR BIAFRAN CHILDREN IN ABIDJAN AND MEDICAL TEAM IN ENCLAVE. THEY ALSO USE OUTBOUND EMPTY AIRCRAFT FOR EVACUATION OF CHILDREN FROM ENCLAVE.
RIMESTAD

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04311 031809Z

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ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

DOBE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 AF-12 AID-28 E-15 HEW-08 RSR-01

/135 W

107700

O 031725Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3887

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4311

FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: UNICEF ACTIVITIES RE NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: STATE 200485

ZIMMERMAN REPORTS "UNICEF NOT IN OPERATIONAL ROLE BUT ITS
ACTIVITIES ARE THE FOLLOWING: QUOTE:

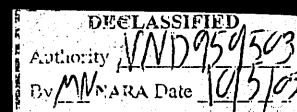
SUPPLY: MEDICAL EQUIPMENT AND HARMLESS DRUGS, VACCINES AND
ACCESSORY EQUIPMENT; ASSEMBLED DRUG SETS; UNIPAC REIMBURSABLE
PROCUREMENT SERVICE FOR AGENCIES. CHANNELING OF DRUGS DONATED
TO OPERATING AGENCIES. PROCUREMENT OF MEASLES, SMALLPOX AND
BCG VACCINES AND ACCESSORY EQUIPMENT. FOOD; CHANNELING OF
GOVERNMENT DONATIONS; COORDINATION OF SUPPLY STOCKS; DONATION
OF FOOD STUFFS.

TRANSPORT: TRANSPORT COSTS FOR DONATED GOODS TO CONFLICT AREAS,
AND FOR DISTRIBUTION TRANSPORTATION WITHIN AREA WHERE NEEDED.
VEHICLES AND SPARE PARTS. FORMER HELICOPTER AIRLIFT FEDERAL
AREA. M.V. COLUMBILLE UNDER UNICEF CHARTER FOR UCA TRANSPORT.

PERSONNEL: SECONDMENT OF PERSONNEL TO OPERATING TEAMS, 2
NUTRITIONISTS AND 5 NUTRITION WORKS (1 BIAFRA, 6 IN NIGERIA)

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04311 031809Z

SUPPLY COORDINATION AND LIAISON WITH AGENCIES IN LAGOS AND
FEDERAL AREA, THRU LAGOS UNICEF OFFICE.

NON-MEDICAL SUPPLIES: CLOTHING, BLANKETS AND THE LIKE. UNQUOTE
RIMESTAD

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| DECLASSIFIED | |
| Authority | VND 959503 |
| By | MMARA |
| Date | 10/5/05 |



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POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
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Department of State

TELEGRAM

42 Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
07

3 Dec 69 16 09z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
Amembassy BELGRADE
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US Mission GENEVA
Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS
Amembassy ROME
Amembassy STOCKHOLM
Amembassy VIENNA

STATE

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra Christmas Truce

REF: (A) The Hague 4580, (B) State 199172 (Notal)

1. Dept wants Emb representative attend Hague Group meeting Dec 5 as observer. At talks, you should encourage parties to coordinate with other efforts for Christmas truce and to work through appropriate African leaders who are friends of FMG and Biafra. We particularly feel gaining cooperation of Emperor highly desirable as was noted previously. Also, in discussions it should be emphasized that ironclad guarantee on arms supply will

DRAFTED BY U/CF:JWFoley, Jr.

12/3/69 23256

APPROVED BY U/CF:Amb.CCFerguson, Jr.

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

EUR/FBX - Mr. McNamara

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Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

0826

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Authority VMD 959503
By MN Date 10/5/05



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ACTION: TO THE HAGUE - Page 2

be required if there any hope of moving project forward.
Otherwise, on basis scant information available on
proposal and what Dutch have in mind, continues difficult
at this stage to provide instructions. As already indicated
reftel (B), USG favors proposal in principle but does not
want to be directly associated with undertaking or become
involved in diplomatic initiatives to launch project.
2. U/CF has provided Neth Emb with logistical data it
requested on location and availability of stocks,
availability transport, etc.
3. From evidence we are getting, seems likely that
Emperor likely to succeed in getting low level Nigeria-
Biafra talks underway within next few weeks. MFA may be
told in confidence but caution that info must be closely
held. They also may be briefed in general terms on Swiss
efforts for relief truce.

END

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DRAFTING DATE TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

CLEARANCES:

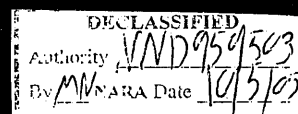
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POL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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TELEGRAM

201028

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ACTION: USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

STATE:

REF: Geneva 4279 (being repeated Lagos)

2 DEC 69 23 36Z

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LIMDIS

1. US supports ICRC continuing effort reach daylight flight agreement, including Bignami effort get new, improved language from FMG and renewed negotiations with Biafrans that basis. We prepared provide appropriate diplomatic support as circumstances warrant. We also prepared consider sympathetically possibility of public statement along lines para 2. However, we cannot give firm commitment in hypothetical circumstances and would have to consider on basis facts when issue arises.
2. Believe it important in connection further ICRC negotiations that ICRC understand clearly that previous Ferguson offer to Biafrans of US assurances re security was one-time offer only. It expired when Biafrans rejected and will not, repeat not, be renewed. Should also be made clear that Ferguson-ICRC ~~AGREEMENT TO DISPOSE OF~~ agreement to dispose of C-97s previously stationed Cotonou is firm arrangement, will not be held in suspense during negotiations.

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AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw

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12/2/69

TEL. EXT.

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APPROVED BY:

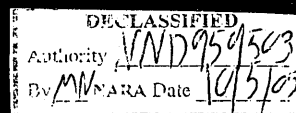
AF - Ambassador Moore

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Foley

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ACTION: USMISSION GENEVA - PAGE 2

3. For Lagos

Believe it important ICRC representative Lagos as well as Bignami
understand these points clearly.

End.

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By MVA Date 10/5/03

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2 Dec 69 15 33Z

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ACTION: USMission GENEVA IMMEDIATE

STATE _____

FOR DAVIDSON FROM AMB. FERGUSON

Please obtain and transmit asp status report on all
 UNICEF activities re Nigerian relief.

END

RICHARDSON

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|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| DRAFTED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr. | DRAFTING DATE 12/2/69 | TEL. EXT. 23256 | APPROVED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr. |
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04292 021151Z

16
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCA-01 SCS-04

RSR-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01 UCF-05

/160 W

099059

R 021125Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3869
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4292

JCA REPORT INDICATES AVERAGE OF 180 TONS (179.91) DELIVERED
NIGHTLY TO ULI DURING NOVEMBER. REPORT BEING POUCHED.
DECON ON RECEIPT
RIMESTAD

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28

RSR-01 /160 W

100175

R 021510Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3872
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4295

1. FOLLOWING WAS RELEASED BY MARKPRESS GENEVA DEC. 2, 1969:
UNDER TITLE "BIAFRAN COMMENTS ON CANADIAN RELIEF STAND":
QUOTE

THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER, MR. TRUDEAU, HAS AGAIN SHOWN A
LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE BIAFRA-NIGERIA
WAR, A SENIOR BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL HAS CHARGED.

THE OFFICIAL WAS COMMENTING ON TRUDEAU'S REPORTED STATEMENT
TO THE EFFECT THAT THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT WAS INSISTING ON CONDITIONS
WHICH AMOUNT TO RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE BY
CANADA IN EXCHANGE FOR PERMISSION FOR DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS INTO
BIAFRA.

THE OFFICIAL THEN RESTATED THAT BIAFRA WANTS AROUND-THE-CLOCK
RELIEF OPERATION AS WELL AS THE USE OF THE CROSS RIVER SURFACE ROUTE
AS MEANS OF BRINGING RELIEF TO THE NEEDY IN SUFFICIENT QUANTITIES.

EMPHASIZING THAT BECAUSE OF THE SECURITY PROBLEMS POSED TO BIAFRA
BY DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, BIAFRA INSISTS ON A FIRM GUARANTEE BY A
RELIABLE THIRD PARTY SO THAT DAYLIGHT RELIEF OPERATION WILL NOT
BE ABUSED, THE MILITARY OFFICIAL POINTED OUT THAT BIAFRA ONLY WISHES

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04295 021537Z

TO BE INDEMNIFIED FOR ANY LOSSES RESULTING FROM NIGERIA'S MILITARY ABUSE OF THE DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS AND THAT NIGERIA'S ABUSE OF THE DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS WOULD NOT RESULT IN BIAFRA BEING "PUNISHED" FOR AN OFFENSE COMMITTED BY NIGERIA--AS WAS THE CASE WHEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS STOPPED BRINGING FOOD INTO BIAFRA BECAUSE NIGERIA SHOT DOWN IN BROAD DAYLIGHT A RELIEF PLANE.

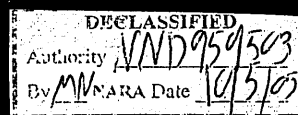
TO ALL FAIR-MINDED OBSERVERS, HE SAID, IT IS CLEAR THAT WHAT BIAFRA ASKS FOR IS THE MINIMUM WHICH HER SAD EXPERIENCE WITH NIGERIA'S PREVIOUS ACTIVITIES DICTATE. IT IS NIGERIA WHO QUICKLY SEIZED UTURU AIRPORT AFTER BIAFRA, IN HER ANXIETY TO INSULATE RELIEF FROM MILITARY ACTIVITIES, BUILT AND HANDED OVER THE AIRPORT TO THE RELIEF AGENCIES. IT IS NIGERIA WHO SCORNE THE UNITED STATES' CROSS RIVER PROPOSAL. IT IS NIGERIA WHO HAS CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED THAT STARVATION IS A LEGITIMATE WEAPON OF WAR, THEREBY MAKING IT CLEAR TO THE WORLD THAT SHE WILL CONTINUE TO USE ONE RUSE OR THE OTHER TO KEEP RELIEF OUT OF BIAFRA.

CONCLUDING, THE OFFICIAL DECLARED, "WE HOPE IT IS NOT PREMIER TRUDEAU'S INTENTION TO MISLEAD THE GOOD PEOPLE OF CANADA INTO SANCTIONING NIGERIA'S GENOCIDE BY STARVATION". UNQUOTE

DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT.
RIMESTAD

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09734 021314Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCR-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28

SCSE-00 SCA-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 P-03

RSC-01 USIA-12 PRS-01 NSC-10 L-03. RSR-01 /129 W
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R 021215Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4503
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS LONDON 9734

SUBJECT: BIAFRA RELIEF
DAILY TELEGRAPH DEC 2 CARRIED FOLLOWING STORY FROM STOCKHOLM:
"THE UNITED CHURCH AID AIRCRAFT MADE 423 FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA
IN NOVEMBER CARRYING 5,399 TONS OF COMMODITIES."
RELEASE IS ATTRIBUTED TO SWEDISH LUTHERAN AID IN STOCKHOLM
AND NOTES THIS IS AN AVERAGE OF 40 FLIGHTS AND 180 TONS PER
NIGHT.
ANNENBERG

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Authority VMD 9501503
By MNARA Date 10/3/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

CONFIDENTIAL 331

PAGE 01 THE HA 04610 021453Z

46

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01

RSR-01 /160 W

099939

R 021400Z DEC 69

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4825
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4610

SUBJ: NEW DUTCH RELIEF INITIATIVE

REF: LAGOS 10369

1. MFA HAS NOT INFORMED US OF DEMARCHE IN LAGOS VOLUNTEERING DUTCH AIRLIFT. THIS REFLECTS DOMESTIC POLITICAL IMPORTANCE TO GON OF TAKING SOME INITIATIVES ON ITS OWN (AND PERHAPS SENSITIVITY TO ABSORPTION IN U.S. CROSS RIVER PLAN OF DUTCH INITIATIVE LAST JANUARY ON WATER ROUTE).

① 2. REVELATIONS OVER PAST FEW WEEKS OF WORSENING RELIEF SITUATION IN BIAFRA HAVE BROUGHT SPATE OF DEMANDS BY PRIVATE GROUPS, POLITICAL PARTIES, AND MPS FOR NEW GON INITIATIVES, E.G., FOR PRESSURES ON COUNTRIES PROVIDING ARMS, PRESSURES ON FMG FOR CEASE FIRE, RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA, NEW DUTCH CONTRIBUTIONS

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*The Hague - 4610
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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



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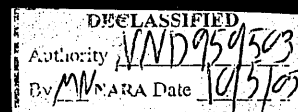
PAGE 02 THE HA 04610 021453Z

OF FOODS AND MEDICINES, AIRDROPS OVER BIAFRA BY DUTCH PLANES, MEDIATION BY UNGA PRESIDENT. PETITION TO DO MORE WAS SIGNED RECENTLY BY ONE MILLION DUTCH SCHOOL CHILDREN AND LABOR PARTY HAS ASKED FOR SPECIAL GON NOTE ON BIAFRA TO SECOND CHAMBER PRIOR FONAFFS DEBATE DEC. 18. MOST DIRECTLY RELATED TO LATEST DEMARCHE IS RESOLUTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY AT NOV. 29 CONGRESS OF CATHOLIC PARTY LEADERS (PM DE JONG'S AND LUNS' PARTY) CALLING FOR NEW AIR BRIDGE TO BIAFRA EMPLOYING DUTCH FRIENDSHIP AIRCRAFT.

3. GON CERTAINLY ASSESSES CHANCES OF FINDING "ACCEPTABLE INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENT" REALISTICALLY. IN RECENT TV INTERVIEWS, LUNS REPORTEDLY STATED (NOV. 25) THAT BIAFRANS HAD REJECTED A DUTCH PROPOSAL RENDER AID WITH FRIENDSHIP AIRCRAFT AND DE JONG ADDED (NOV. 29) THAT AIRDROPS BY DUTCH PLANES IMPOSSIBLE SINCE WOULD BE SHOT AT. LUNS CLEARLY WANTS BE ABLE TELL PARLIAMENT DURING FONAFFS DEBATE THAT HE TRIED. GP3
MIDDENDORF

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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

CONFIDENTIAL 911

PAGE 01 THE HA 04580 011331Z

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ACTION AF-18:

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DOBE-00
PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01
PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01
ACDA-18 RSR-01 178 W 093274

PIR 011235Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4813
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL THE HAGUE 4580

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF --- CHRISTMAS TRUCE

REF: HAGUE 4556, STATE 199172

1. DUTCH HAVE CALLED HAGUE GROUP MEETING (AT EMBASSY LEVEL) FOR 10 A.M. FRIDAY, DEC. 5, IN THE HAGUE TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE CHRISTMAS TRUCE INITIATIVE. ALL EMBASSIES REQUESTED ATTEND WITH INSTRUCTIONS. MFA HAS ALREADY INSTRUCTED NETHS EMBASSY WASHINGTON SEEK IN ADVANCE OF HAGUE GROUP MEETING U.S. COMMENTS MORE DETAILED THAN THOSE CONTAINED STATED 199172, AND IN PARTICULAR FERGUSON'S PERSONAL REACTION. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE DUTCH HAVE NOT THOUGHT OUT PROPOSAL MUCH BEYOND WHAT OUTLINED HAGUE 4556.

3. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL BRIEF MFA IN CONFIDENCE ON SECOND.

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PAGE 02 THE HA 04580 011331Z

LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS AND SWISS EFFORTS PRIOR TO HAGUE GROUP MEETING. REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ON THIS AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR MEETING ITSELF, INCLUDING (A) WHETHER WE ARE TO CONTINUE ATTENDING AS OBSERVER (IN VIEW FERGUSON'S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION RECENT MEETINGS) AND (B) VIEW ON INCLUDING U.K. AND FRANCE IN ANY INITIATIVE. GP-3. MIDDENDORF

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| By | MN NARA Date 10/3/05 |

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 828

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04279 011208Z

17 11
ACTION UCF-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 SR-01 PM-03 AF-05 INR-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 USIE-00

IO-04 /053 W

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P 011125Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3856

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4279

LIMDIS NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

FOR U/CF

1. ON SATURDAY BIGNAMI RECONFIRMED OPINION THAT FMG INCLINED TOWARD DELETING MILITARY CLAUSE FROM DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT. HE STATED THAT IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS MOVE FOR FMG; THE PROPAGANDA VALUE OF BIAFRA'S REFUSAL IS WEARING THIN. HE NOTED WASHINGTON POST WHICH PREVIOUSLY QUESTIONED BIAFRAN

TURN DOWN, BUT LATER IN EDITORIAL WROTE THAT IRRESPECTIVE OF BIAFRA'S REFUSAL OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS PEOPLE ARE STILL DYING OF HUNGER. BIGNAMI ADDED THAT HIS PURPOSE IS NOT TO BRING PROPAGANDA VICTORY BUT TO SAVE LIVES. IF FMG DELETES MILITARY CLAUSE ICRC WILL SEND REP. (STILL UNNAMED) TO REQUEST BIAFRA ALSO DROP THEIR MILITARY STIPULATIONS. IF THIS FAILS ICRC WILL PURSUE AIR DROP PROPOSAL WITH BOTH SIDES.

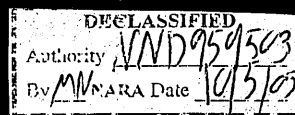
2. BIGNAMI ASKED WHETHER USG PREPARED TO ISSUE STATEMENT COMMENDING FMG IF MILITARY CLAUSE DELETED. (PLEASE ADVISE).

3. BIGNAMI FEELS COMPROMISE ON C-97'S UNFAIR TO ICRC. HE PREFERS PLANES TO BE SOLD TO AMERICAN COMPANY WITH REPURCHASE RIGHTS RESERVED BY ICRC. WHEN HE WAS EXPLAINED TEL AVIV BACKUP PLAN AND POSSIBILITY OF CHANGING REGISTRATION OF C-97'S HE WAS LESS

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04279 011208Z

STRONGLY OPPOSED BUT STILL FEARS "SOMEONE WOULD SAY ICRC DID TRICK IN TURNING PLANES OVER TO JCA".

4. ON F.O.B. ULI PLAN BIGANAMI THINKS THAT RESPECTED INDIVIDUAL - A WELL KNOWN INDUSTRIALIST FROM NEUTRAL COUNTRY - COULD BE SPONSOR OF AIRLIFT. HE STATED ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH PLAN SHOULD BE MADE OUTSIDE OF ICRC WALLS. HE FEELS THAT HE COULD ARRANGE FOR INDIVIDUAL BUT BECAUSE OF HIS DESIRE TO DO NOTHING WHICH WOULD JEOPARDIZE IMPROVED RELATIONS HE HAS DEVELOPED BETWEEN ICRC AND LAGOS AND DUE TO HIS IMMINENT DEPARTURE TO NIGERIA HE WOULD LEAVE THIS QUESTION TO BASSET.
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| By | MN NARA Date 10/3/05 |

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POL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04285 011725Z

47 40
ACTION UCF-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 SR-01 PM-03 AF-05 INR-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 /049 W 094457

R 011718Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3863

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4285

LIMDIS

NOFORN

STATE FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: GENEVA 4279, 4282

1. IN REGARD TO FRAGTFLUG PLAN BASSET CONCERNED LEST INFORMATION LEAK THAT ICRC DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN "F.O.B. ULI" PROPOSAL. HE IS RELYING UPON BIGNAMI'S ADVICE ON PROCEDURES FOR FINDING RESPECTED INDIVIDUAL WHO WOULD BE SPONSOR OF "F.O.B. ULI". BASSET OBSERVED THAT ICRC CANNOT DEAL DIRECTLY WITH CARRIER, BUT COULD ACCEPT "OFFER" OF ASSISTANCE FROM RESPECTED AND TRUSTED "MR. X" WHO WOULD BE SPONSOR. "QUESTION IS HOW TO FIND MR. X".

2. SCHAEGLER STATED ICRC REVISING BUDGET AND THEREFORE REQUESTS DELAY IN PROMISED MEETING WITH DAVIDSON TO DISCUSS DETAILS OF LINE ITEMS IN PLAN (AS PROMISED BY FREYMOND DURING MEETING WITH FERGUSON).
RIMESTAD

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| Date | 10/5/05 |

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION UCF-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 SR-01 PM-03 AF-05 INR-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 /049 W 093940

P 011455Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3859

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4282

LIMDIS

NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF

FOLLOWING IS PROPOSAL FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF "F.O.B. ULI" PLAN
PRESENTED BY LOFTUR JOHANNESSON OF FRAGTFLUG:

PROPOSAL FOR DELIVERING SUPPLIES TO THE I.C.R.C. DELEGATION
AND NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES IN BIAFRA

THIS PROPOSAL IS BASED UPON THE FOLLOWING:

1. AN INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL ACCEPTING RESPONSIBILITY FOR DELIVERING FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO THE ICRC DELEGATION AND NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES AT ULI.
2. ONE OF THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS, ALL OF WHICH HAVE EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO UNDERTAKE THIS TASK, SHOULD BE CHOSEN.
 - A. ICECROSS
 - B. THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA
 - C. THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF AGENCY
 - D. A WELL KNOWN PUBLIC FIGURE OF NEUTRAL NATIONALITY.

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*Geneva 4282
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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3. THE FINANCE WILL BE PROVIDED BY THE ICRC'S USUAL DONORS THROUGH THE ICRC.
4. INITIAL OPERATIONS CONDUCTED OUT OF ABIDJAN BUT LATER FROM LOME WHEN THE NECESSARY PERMISSIONS HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATED.
5. OPERATIONS CAN COMMENCE APPROXIMATELY WITHIN TEN DAYS AFTER GO-AHEAD HAS BEEN GIVEN.

BASE

ABIDJAN

HAS A SUITABLE RUNWAY AND A PARKING AREA OF 400 X 100 METRES. ALL-WEATHER LANDING AIDS AND OPERATES ON 24 HOURS BASES.

LOME

HAS A SUITABLE RUNWAY AND A PARKING AREA OF 200 X 85 METRES WHICH CAN BE INCREASED BY USING P.S.P. (METAL STRIPS), WHICH THE ICRC HAS AMPLE SUPPLY OF AT COTONOU. ALL-WEATHER LANDING AIDS, BUT AT PRESENT THE AIRFIELD DOES NOT STAY OPEN AT NIGHT. THIS IS DUE TO LACK OF TRAFFIC. ALL NECESSARY LIGHTING FOR NIGHT OPERATIONS IS INSTALLED AND THE EXTENSION OF OPERATING HOURS WILL BE NEGOTIATED WITH THAT OF THE DIPLOMATIC CLEARANCE.

DIPLOMATIC CLEARANCE

BOTH THE IVORY COAST GOVERNMENT AND THE TOGOLAND GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN APPROACHED AND THE INDICATIONS ARE THAT OPERATIONS CAN COMMENCE IMMEDIATELY FROM ABIDJAN. NEGOTIATIONS WITH TOGOLAND ARE PROCEEDING BUT NO INDICATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED AS YET. THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN BY THE FRENCH SECTION OF THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA, ON BEHALF OF WHICHEVER ORGANIZATION UNDERTAKES THIS OPERATION.

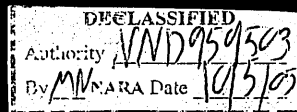
SELECTION

SINCE TWO FLIGHTS PER NIGHT PER AIRCRAFT CAN BE ACHIEVED FROM LOME, COMPARED WITH ONLY ONE FROM ABIDJAN, LOME IS THE MORE SUITABLE OF THE TWO. HOWEVER, INITIAL OPERATIONS SHOULD BE

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CONDUCTED FROM ABIDJAN: WHILST DIPLOMATIC CLEARANCE IS BEING OBTAINED FROM THE TOGOLAND GOVERNMENT.

FLIGHT OPERATIONS:

ALL FLIGHT OPERATIONS WILL BE UNDERTAKEN BY FRAGTELUG UNDER AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SELECTED ORGANIZER AND ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULE:

PHASE I

OPERATIONS TO COMMENCE FROM ABIDJAN WITHIN TEN DAYS AFTER AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN REACHED.

TWO DC-6B AIRCRAFT WILL BE USED DELIVERING TOTAL OF 25 TONS PER NIGHT TO ULI. MONTHLY RATE 750 TONS.

PHASE II

TWO MORE DC-6BS WILL BE BROUGHT INTO OPERATIONS FROM ABIDJAN TWENTY DAYS AFTER COMMENCEMENT OF PHASE I, INCREASING DELIVERY TO 50 TONS PER NIGHT. MONTHLY RATE 1,500 TONS.

PHASE III

DURING PHASE I AND POSSIBLY PHASE II, NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE TOGOLAND GOVERNMENT WILL PROCEED AND SHOULD THESE BE SUCCESSFUL THE TEMPORARY BASE AT ABIDJAN WILL BE MOVED TO LOME. THIS WILL BE DONE IN TWO STAGES SO AS NOT TO INTERRUPT THE FLOW OF SUPPLIES.

PHASE III-A

2 AIRCRAFT AT ABIDJAN - TOTAL NIGHTLY DELIVERY 25 TONS
2 AIRCRAFT AT LOME - TOTAL NIGHTLY DELIVERY 52 TONS

.....
TOTAL: 77 TONS

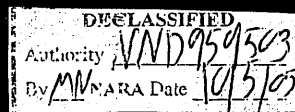
MONTHLY RATE: 2,310 TONS.

PHASE III-B

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4 AIRCRAFT AT LOME - TOTAL NIGHTLY DELIVERY: 104 TONS

MONTHLY RATE: 3,120 TONS.

PHASE IV

ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT CAN BE BROUGHT IN AS REQUIRED AT THE RATE OF ONE DC-6A/B EVERY 14 DAYS. HOWEVER AT THE TIME OF WRITING, FRAGTFLUG IS IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE NINE AIRCRAFT GIVEN SIXTY DAYS NOTICE. THIS COMPLETE FLEET WOULD GIVE A MONTHLY RATE OF 3,375 TONS FROM ABIDJAN AND A MONTHLY RATE OF 7,020 TONS FROM LOME.
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ACTION: UCF-01

INFO: OCT-01 SS-20 SR-01 PM-03 AF-05 INR-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 /049 W 094060

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LIMDIS:

NOFORN:

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF

GROUND ORGANIZATION

HARBOUR FACILITIES AT BOTH ABIDJAN AND LOME ARE SATISFACTORY.

STORAGE FACILITIES ARE AVAILABLE AT BOTH PORTS BUT A TENT OR AN INFLATABLE WAREHOUSE WOULD BE REQUIRED AT LOME AIRPORT.

COMMUNICATIONS, TELEPHONE AND TELEPRINTER SERVICES AVAILABLE AT BOTH ABIDJAN AND LOME.

PERSONNEL WILL BE AS FOLLOWS (FOR TO 4 AIRCRAFT OPERATION):

- 1 MANAGER
- 3 FLIGHT OPERATIONS
- 3 GROUND OPERATIONS
- 2 GROUND MARSHALLERS
- 1 TELEX/RADIO OPERATOR
- 1 ACCOUNTANT
- 1 SECRETARY/CLERK
- NATIVE LABOUR AS NECESSARY.

HOUSING IS AVAILABLE AT BOTH ABIDJAN AND LOME FOR PERSONNEL AND A SMALL OFFICE WHICH IS ALL THAT IS REQUIRED.

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TRANSPORT OF SUPPLIES FROM PORT TO AIRPORT, AS WELL AS LOADING OF AIRCRAFT, WILL BE UNDERTAKEN BY A LOCAL CONTRACTOR.

CLEARANCE INTO ULI AS WELL AS LIAISON (FROM ABIDJAN) WITH BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES, WILL BE UNDERTAKEN BY DR. DIKE, BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE IVORY COAST.

COSTS OF THE GROUND ORGANIZATION WILL BASICALLY CONSIST OF THE FOLLOWING:

1. IMPORT DUTY ON SUPPLIES - IF ANY
2. PORT DUES AND HANDLING CHARGES
3. STORAGE
4. TRANSPORT OF SUPPLIES FROM PORT TO AIRPORT AND LOADING OF AIRCRAFT
5. SALARIES AND PER DIEM OF GROUND ORGANIZATION PERSONNEL
6. COMMUNICATIONS
7. TRANSPORT OF PERSONNEL

IN VIEW OF THE STREAMLINED ORGANIZATIONS, COSTS WILL BE CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN THOSE OF COTONOU.

ADMINISTRATION EUROPE

FINANCE

A BUDGET WILL BE PREPARED FOR THE FIRST THREE MONTHS, AND THEREAFTER ON ONE MONTHLY BASE, TO PROVIDE FOR THE ENTIRE OPERATION.

THE ICRC WILL PAY THE REQUIRED FUNDS INTO A SPECIAL ACCOUNT IN SWITZERLAND, HELD IN THE NAME OF THE SELECTED ORGANIZER.

THE FUNDS WILL BE ADMINISTERED BY THE SELECTED ORGANIZER, BUT THE ICRC WILL HAVE FULL ACCESS TO THE SELECTED ORGANIZER'S ACCOUNTS AND CONTRACTS.

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PERSONNEL

EMPLOYMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF PERSONNEL WILL BE CARRIED OUT THROUGH THE SELECTED ORGANIZER'S OFFICE IN GENEVA.

CONTRACTS

FRAGTFLUG WILL BASE ITS CONTRACTS WITH THE SELECTED ORGANIZER ON THOSE WHICH THE ICRC NOT ONLY FOUND LEAST EXPENSIVE BUT MOST PRODUCTIVE, I.E. A SET CHARGE PER TON LANDED AT ULI. THE CHARGE FROM ABIDJAN WILL BE US DOLS 600.- PER TON AND FROM LOME US DOLS 265.- PER TON. THE REASON FOR THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO IS LONGER DISTANCE, LOWER PAYLOAD AND ONLY ONE FLIGHT PER NIGHT ACHIEVED FROM ABIDJAN.

CONCLUSION

WE BELIEVE THAT BY ACCEPTING THIS PROPOSAL THE ICRC CAN ONCE AGAIN CONCENTRATE ITS EFFORTS ON THE IMPORTANT HUMANITARIAN WORK THAT NEEDS CARRYING OUT IN BIAFRA.

FURTHERMORE, THE CONTINUITY OF THE SUPPLY LINE IS BEST GUARDED BY THE FOLLOWING:

- A) SIMPLE COMMAND STRUCTURE
- B) EFFICIENCY
- C) INCENTIVE
- D) ECONOMY - MINIMUM OVERHEADS
- E) NO POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS
- F) NO ETHNIC OR RELIGIOUS RESTRICTIONS
- G) MINIMUM OF PUBLICITY - NO PRESS RELEASES, ETC.
- H) USING AN ICELANDIC CARRIER - COULD NOT BE MORE NEUTRAL
- I) THE FIRST TWO AIRCRAFT REGISTRATION TF-OAA AND TF-OAB HAVE NEVER BEEN USED BY THE ICRC NOR WILL ANY FUTURE AIRCRAFT BE BROUGHT IN.

FRAGTFLUG

L. JOHANNESSEN
MANAGING DIRECTOR
UNQTE

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